TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD

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BY JOHN REED

With a Foreword by V I Lenin

Edited with Introduction and

Notes by Bertram D Wolfe

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INTRODUCTION

BY BERTRAM D WOLFE

John Reed was as American as apple pie and store cheese Yet he was one of the founders of the Communist International and his ashes lie under the Kremlin Wall From a mansion on Cedar Hill in Portland Oregon to the Kremlin Wall at the heart of Moscow and Russia—such is the trajectory of his life Except that his further evolution was cut short by untimely death it was the trajectory too of much of the pre 1914 Greenwich Village radicalism of which he was an integral part Indeed to follow his adventures of flesh and spirit is to learn more about native American Bohemianism than about Russian communism more about the Village

> Twixt Broadway and Sixth Avenue
> And West perhaps a block or two
> From Third Street up and Ninth Street down
> Between Fifth Avenue and the town

than about the *Kitai Gorod* a Chinatown without Chinese that abuts the Kremlin Wall

John Silas Reed as he was christened in Portland s fashionable Trinity Episcopal Church was born on October 20 1887 in the sumptuous mansion of his maternal grandparents His childhood memories center around their lordly hilltop home a French chateau with immense

F om *Th Day I B h ml* by J hn Reed.

park formal gardens lawns stables greenhouses glass grape arbor tame deer Chinese servants idols strange customs and ceremonies pig tails and gongs and fluttering red paper The owner of the mansion was a Portland pioneer who had prospered mightily, owned the gas works the water works the iron works in short on a Portland scale was big business The mansion s mistress had a reputation for gay parties and defiance of convention raised by wealth and power above the wash of Portland gossip An uncle too brought color into the boy s life by mysterious comings and goings and tall tales of far off places where he had filibustered planted coffee become Secretary of State of a short lived Guatemalan revolutionary government spent all its treasury on a single banquet for his friends declared war on Germany in revenge for his having flunked a college course in German

But Jack s father and mother, the C J Reeds were neither so rich nor so colorful They owned a little home in Portland in later years moving to an apartment hotel C J Reed did well as agent for an Eastern agricultural implement company—until it was swallowed up by the International Harvester trust Thereafter he struggled along as an insurance salesman He strove to give his two sons the education proper to Portland society (private school Eastern prep school Harvard) never letting his boys know the effort it cost him In his later years he became a crusader against many of the deeds of the great Portland families of which his father in law was a leading representative Some of Oregon s business leaders were preempting the forests (to say Oregon was to say lumber) When Theodore Roosevelt began his battle for conservation of our vanishing forest preserves C J Reed was appointed United States Marshal to fight the despoilers of the Oregon forests with William J Burns as chief detec

tive Francis J Heney as prosecutor and Lincoln Steffens as muckraker The split in Portland society the excite ments of the crusade the friendship between Jack s father and Lincoln Steffens—such was the political heritage which John Reed took with him to Harvard and Greenwich Villa_e

Jack s boyhood was troubled by illness particularly a kidney ailment, by a sense of physical weakness, a fear of older and tou_her boys He w_s never really well and stron_ until his sixteenth year His way to Portland Acad emy lay through Goose Hollow inhabited by "brutal Irish boys He fought when he had to ran when he could paid monetary tribute to his tormentors finally got himself accepted precariously as one of the less valued members of the Fourteenth Street Gang Then as now gangs had their domains but they used less lethal weapons to defend them.

The boy s happiness was not in the world of fi_hts and sports but, his mother having early tau_ht him to read in the world of books and dreams He began to write boyish verses tell fanciful tales to youn er listeners see in every personable girl a Guinevere and in himself Sir Galahad aquest for the Holy Grail 'History was my passion kin_s struttin_ about and armored ranks of men Mark Twain, Bill Nye *Lorna Doone Webster's Unabridged* Malory the *Arabian Nights*—thus assortm nt h characteristically sel cts as dearest to him Echoes of these predilect works recur in all his later imaginative writing At nine he began a Comic History of the United States" At twenty six he did his humorous *Day in Bohemia* showed his continued love for lexicons in an ode On First Looking into *Roget s Thesaurus* started but never finished a fantastic drama with such characters as God Almighty Gertrude Stein, and a Chorus of Pederasts In Florence that ame year

he saw a field of Dragon s Teeth where turbulent armies bred and in Venice was lost in the beauty of history The things *Men* have done! he murmured over and over again to Mabel Dodge But I wish that *I* could have been there at the *doing* of it or that they were doing it *now* It was as the ardent chronicler of the things *Men* were doing as a poet in love with history and there at the *doing* of it, that John Reed would make his name

As a sickly boy at the Portland Academy Jack was an outsider I wasn t good at the things the other boys were and their codes of honor and conduct didn t hold me They had a good natured contempt for me That is why my impression of boyhood is an unhappy one and why I have so few close friends in Portland and don t ever want to live there again

Only at swimming did he excel spending long hours in the Willamette outdiving and outracing his companions Not belonging to the world of the normal boys he took refuge in staging plays of his own writing founding and managing juvenile journals filling them with his own stuff Since his education was what is today called permissive and his reading wide ranging and disorderly his mind would be to the end as amazing for what he didn t know as for what he did most amazing for the things he knew that weren t quite so In 1917 just before he left for his look at the Russian Revolution he wrote a brief memoir from which we have been quoting a backward glance at the first twenty nine years of his life Of the temper of his spirit he wrote

I never stuck long at anything I didn t like On the other hand there are few things I don t get some fun out of if only the novelty of experience I love people except the

well fed smug and am interested in all new things and all the beautiful old things they do I love beauty and chance and change I suppose I ll always be a Romanticist.

No one could put better what his friends meant when they said Jack is a poet."

Obsessed with the sense of being an outsider his youth was absorbed with an attempt to belong In the Eastern prep school to which his folks sent him to prepare for Harvard he felt more successful His health was better though his kidney never ceased to give trouble he played football ran the quarter mile and excelled in swimming Where all were strangers they were more willing to accept him

But in Harvard which he entered in 1906 he felt the desperation of an outsider once more Of the 744 youn men in his enterin class it seemed that all had friends but Jack How to make friends get into the clubs become a part of all the visible gayety? To make the freshman crew he stayed all through a lonely vacation in Cambridge to practice alone on the rowing machine only to be the last man kicked off the squad before the meets began He tried out for the college papers sou ht a desirable room mate but was snubbed snubbing in turn a Jewish boy who asked to room with him—for which he sought and won forgiveness later Through it all he felt terribly alone

As an upperclassman his status be an to improve He made some college papers as managing editor thou h the top posts eluded him because the aristocrats blackballed me As a freshman he had actually prayed to God to make his fellow students like him now his prayers were on the way to being fulfilled To be sure he never made the better clubs—except Hasty Pudding in his senior year when it needed someone capable of compo ing comic

lyrics for its annual show But he became president of the Cosmopolitan Club outsiders banded together from forty three lands where the boy from Portland could find a heady brew of ideas and ideologies He got various administrative posts manager of the Dramatic Club manager of two music clubs captain of the Water Polo Team song leader of Harvard s cheering section where I had the blissful sensation of swaying two thousand voices in great crashing choruses during the big football games His apprenticeship to Bill Nye and Mark Twain and his fecundity in thinking up sophomoric jokes and comic rhymes won him second place on the *Lampoon* He got on the *Monthly* but could not make the *Crimson* Harvard s daily He felt almost but not quite in

When a fight developed between aristocrats and "commoners Reed wavered The commoners lived in the dormitories in Harvard Yard the aristocrats on Mt Auburn Street whence the fight was known as one between Yard and Street Tempted by the symbols of status Jack had taken a room on the Street That plus a modicum of acceptance from the insiders in his senior year made him choose to run on their ticket—which went down to defeat

Even then the aristocrats did not altogether accept him When he did get invited to their Back Bay drawing rooms a perverse defiant streak made him play some prank affront some great personage denounce some cherished institution behave as badly as possible When his companions were invited to the next affair without him he would feel sorry for himself To reject while yearning to belong this was always to be the squaring of the circle for John Reed

Being a Harvard man remained important to him in later years The Harvard Club in New York Harvard

men in Washington and Paris rooming with Harvard men continued to matter It was at a Harvard gathering in Washington that he dramatized his opposition to conscription and to America s entrance into the war by refusing to stand up when The Star-Spangled Banner was sung Afterwards it wounded him deeply when fellow alumni hesitated to speak to him This concern with Harvard was part of the life long boyishness in Reed a boyishness noted by all who have written of him but misinterpreted by those who have set him down as a playboy"

The Harvard of his day was in a ferment of intellectual radicalism The war was to mark a decline in campus radicalism—one need only compare the prewar Intercollegiate Socialist Society with its postwar offspring the League for Industrial Democracy to convince oneself of that The Socialist Club where Walter Lippmann then held forth as pundit got Jack to come to some of its meetings but he would not join His reasons truth in jest are in his lines describing Lippmann as one

> Who builds a world and leaves out all the fun
> Who dreams a pageant gorgeous infinite
> And then leaves all the color out of it,
> Who wants to make the human race and me
> March to a geometric Q E D

Reed shopped around at the Single Tax and Anarchist Clubs the Harvard Men s League for Woman s Suffrage and the other causes then enlisting enthusiasm on the campus modern art thesis drama anti puritanism sexual freedom atheism—an apprenticeship for life in Greenwich Village

Harvard s one remembered teacher was Copey who "stimulated me to find color and strength and beauty in books and in the world and to express it Professor Cope

land in turn, led him back to his father s old friend and comrade in arms Lincoln Steffens destined to influence him more deeply than any other man for the rest of his days

Lincoln Steffens was attracted to younger men and greatly enjoyed the influence he could exercise over them As a top flight journalist he was always being made an editor of some magazine or daily paper yet he hated a desk and four walls was no editor at all—except for his uncanny ability to think up assignments for himself and his love of scouting for young writers He had gone to Harvard to ask Copeland for the names of some promis ing young men Copey s list included Lippmann whom Steffens placed on the staff of *Everybody s*, and the son of his old friend C J Reed, for whom he got a job on the *American Magazine*

Jack s ambitions were modest To make a million dol lars to get married to write my name in letters of fire against the sky When he confided some of this Steffens looked at me with that lovely smile You can do anything you want to he said There are two men who give me confidence in myself—Copeland and Stef fens More than any other Steff has influenced my mind

In 1911 Steffens was at the zenith of his reputation—though the foundations on which it was built were already eroding For a few years America had been much taken with crusades against Big Business and against political corruption Leading magazines vied with each other to publish exposes Their articles crowded out murders love nests and sports in conversation Wrongly credited with being the inventor of muckraking Steffens was surely its most celebrated practitioner To this busy trade he

contributed a unique off beat note liking for the crooks and grafters and dislike of the men of his own class the reformers to whose crusades his able articles contributed This inversion of feeling gave his writings a special dimension His *Shame of the Cities* was the recognized classic of the genre By the time he published it however he was heartily tired of the whole business by which he had won his fame—in this a jump ahead of the American people who would soon weary of it too

Publicly Steffens was beginning to affirm that he admired Tammany Boss Croker more than any of his respectable enemies and thought J B Dill who had framed the New Jersey loophole laws for corporations about the wisest, and yes about the rightest man I ever met Invited to Harvard by President Eliot, Steff offered to give a course in corruption not to teach the young how to avoid it but how to succeed in their professions whereupon President Eliot turned on his heel and walked right out of his own office *

Wearied of repetitious detection and exposure (wasn t it everywhere the same?) Steffens was chagrined when editors would not let him switch from muckraking to didactic essays to teach that intelligence was above morality that there was no science or certainty to morals that if you threw the grafters out they were bound to get right back in a ain He wanted to explain that it was the system which corrupted and that the cure was quite simple nationalize all industry and then industry will be government hence no longer able to corrupt it His valedictory was fittingly entitled An Apology for Graft its thesis being that "a strong man however bad is socially better than a weak man however good

* All the direct quotations concerning Lincoln Steffens are taken from his published articles, *Letters* and *Autobiography*

With no patience for the sobering thought that good fights have to be fought again and again Steffens undisciplined cocksure arrogant mind cast about for a swift and simple solution He set out to formulate the scientific laws of revolution as previously he had worked out the scientific laws of corruption History was kind to him South of the border there was a succession of revolutions in Mexico But scientists need more than a single case How good of History to offer another revolution in Russia in 1917 and yet another in Italy in 1922 He made a pious scientific pilgrimage to each of the three John Reed followed him on the first two expeditions but was no longer alive to go on the third

I would like to spend the evening of my life Steffens wrote of his new love watching the morning of a new world It was a long evening Born twenty-one years before Reed Steffens died sixteen years after him To the end influencing and propagandizing young people in *favor of revolution remained his ruling passion*

As he had admired Croker and Dill and felt contempt for their opponents and victims so now he avowed his admiration for the strong and ruthless men who were shaping or misshaping our age His admiration for Lenin is too well known to require comment No less instructive however, was his apostrophe to Mussolini

> It was as if the Author of all things had looked down upon this little planet of His and seeing the physical mental moral confusion said "I will have a political thunderstorm big enough for all men to notice and not too big for them to comprehend and through it I will shoot a blazing thunderbolt that will strike down all their foolish old principles burn up their dead ideas and separate the new light I am creating from the darkness men have made *And so he formed Mussolini out of the rib of Italy*

After his study of three revolutions Steffens was more than ever sure that it is useless—it is almost wrong—to fight for the right under our system petty reforms in politics were impossible unintelligent immoral

He urged young people to go to Russia. Personally he lingered long in a lovely villa in Mussolini s Italy then settled in corrupt old Paris and finally in California s Carmel by the Sea He had been to Heaven (Moscow) but was so accustomed to Hell (Paris) that for himself he preferred the infernal regions He could recognize salvation but could not be saved. To an inquiring student he wrote Our old culture is finished We have all got to turn to welcome the new culture which covers everything —the arts science business life When other more engaged Village radicals like Max Eastman for instance took a closer look and then became critical of the new Heaven Steffens declaimed 'The intelligentsia! They shoot em in Russia and I know why *they have to be* shot every time the World moves shot or crushed. Yet privately he acknowledged in a letter to a friend 'That s my belief But I don t want to live there It s too much like serving in an army at war with no mercy for the weak and no time for the wounded Youth *can* stand it youth loves it but for me who am ruined by an easy life of the old culture Russia is impossible My service to it has to be out sid here

Such was the temper and mind of the celebrat d journalist and man of the world who in 1911 took young Reed under his tutelage introducing him to life and art and the men women and *isms* of Greenwich Village

At first sight Jack fell in love with New York the Villa e where he roomed the theaters Chinatown the Fulton Fish Market, the soaring towers the two rivers

smelling of spice and far off places and things of the sea the teeming life of the Jewish East Side and Little Italy, Bowery drifters cheap lodging houses restaurants where the foods of the entire world could be found dope peddlers streetwalkers gangsters that killed for hire Coney Island s tinsel glitter—all was enchantment In verses derivative but bespeaking an eye and a heart all his own Jack celebrated the monuments uncouth of this city s wild ungovernable youth, the splendors of her achievements and of her still unfulfilled dreams and the excitements of his own adventures in this splendid and chaotic setting In New York I first loved and first wrote of the things I saw with a fierce joy of creation I was not happy or well long away from New York I am not now for that matter *

Best of all places in the beloved city was his beloved Village Here were famous men and women impassioned talk unflagging excitement physical and spiritual adventure And truly when Reed and three comrades from Harvard took rooms in a seedy old building at 42 Washington Square South (and Lincoln Steffens to revel in their youth and admiration forsook his accustomed luxury to move into rooms on the floor below) Greenwich Village was one of the most exciting places in the world The Villagers were creators or devotees of the arts propounders and disciples of the *isms* advocates and exemplars of life lived adventurously recklessly free from the trammels of puritanism, respectability or convention The Village in 1911 was Freud and Margaret Sanger Big Bill Haywood Carlo Tresca and Emma Goldman Marx Henry George Tolstoy and Benjamin Tucker Alfred Steiglitz and Isadora Duncan and all the other heads of all sorts of movements some of them with their whole movement in a single head

* Wr'tt n C oton New Yo k in 1917

Editors scouted there for artists and writers Alongside the established journals new ones sprang up that could no pay a penny taking funds instead from their contributors to keep going Reed tried to write things that would sell and make that million dollars But as solace for rejection slips he found that the Village had an open hearted empty treasuried joyous magazine the *Masses* At that moment Max Eastman presided over it Nose thumbing vaguely modern radical experimental it was more a Catherine wheel of artists poets light and heavy thinkers and literary pranksters than a cause or tendency—worlds apart from the *New Masses* and the un Reed like John Reed Clubs of the thirties Like the Village itself the old *Masses* was a home for personal rebels esthetic rebels anarchists socialists feminists any *ists* whatsoever It was perpetually dying for lack of funds perpetually springing into new life out of the abundance of high spirits which was its real capital

Before long as he had been at Harvard John Reed was the managing editor For one of its phoenixlike resurrec tions he wrote

> We refuse to commit ourselves to any course of action except this to do with the Masses exactly what we please We dont even intend to conciliate our readers Poems stories drawings rejected by the capitalistic press on account of their excellence will find a welcome We in tend to be arrogant impertinent in bad taste but not vulgar to attack old systems old morals old prejudices to set up new ones in their places Bound by no creed or theory of social reform we will express them all providing they be radical

It was a credo for the Village of 1913 for the *Masses* and a good personal statement of Jack s own radicalism

Notable in it was the sense of beleaguered comradeship among these assorted rebels Though they disputed end lessly with each other and scornfully demolished each other s pet theories they stood shoulder to shoulder against the established They could write without mockery of the good love of comrades However much they might disagree with each other s creeds they defended each other s right to utter and publish and otherwise give expression to what to each might seem good None thought in those days that his heresy might one day become a new orthodoxy directing inquisition persecution anathema and death at all who continued to be rebels Something of this comradeship in diverse rebellion continued to sweeten Village life until the thirties when the blood purges would cleave a chasm between those who identified themselves with the driver of the juggernaut and those who felt com passion for the victims over whom it rolled

The Village s conception of the Revolution was more esthetic than social Its high point was the Armory Show of 1913 Mabel Dodge whose $500 check and busy visits to owners of advanced art to get loans of pictures did much to make the show possible characterized it with her usual uninhibited precision

I felt as though the Exhibition were mine I really did It became overnight my own little Revolution *I* would upset America It was tragic—I was able to admit that—but the old ways must go and with them their priests My hand would not shake nor could I allow my personal feelings of pity to halt me *I* was going to dynamite New York

(In 1917 the vanguard artists and writers of St Peters burg would make the same pathetic error of confounding their revolution in art with Lenin s revolution in the power

structure for which confusion some have long paid and others are still paying)

In 1913 the salon of Mabel Dodge was a unifier of Village life Like V F Calverton in the postwar genera tion she had a rare gift for bringing together the atomized particles of our decentralized culture

Born Mabel Ganson in Buffalo in 1879 (which made her eight years Jack s senior) she had become Mabel Evans in 1900 Mabel Dodge in 1903 would marry the painter Maurice Sterne in 1916 and the Hispano-Indian Antonio Luhan in 1923 Between the second marriage and the third she came to play a large role in the Village and in the life of John Reed

Having returned from three years in her elegant Floren tine villa to u_ly ugly America and being on the way to becoming estranged from her loyal conventional sec ond husband she sought to fill the void in her spirit by turning her luxuriously furnished apartment at 23 Fifth Avenue with a wall broken through to an apartment on Ninth Street into an open house for everybody that was anybody and for many a nobody Wealthy gracious open hearted beautiful intellectually curious and quite without any sense of discrimination she was Bohemia s most suc cessful lion hunter I want d to know the Heads of things Heads of movements Heads of newspapers Heads of all kinds of groups anything that showed above the tribal pattern Her hospitality her capacity for listening her quiet encouraging smile brought together the great the near great and those who came to dream of greatness

Steffens was one of her lion With him on occasion he brought three young Harvard classmates of the class of 1910 Lee Simonson Walter Lippmann and John Reed There they could meet of a Wednesday evening the Hap-

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The Village's conception of "the Revolution" was more esthetic than social. Its high point was the Armory Show of 1913. Mabel Dodge, whose $500 check and busy visits to owners of "advanced" art to get loans of pictures, did much to make the show possible, characterized it with her usual uninhibited precision:

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(Max Eastman has affectionately described Jack as hav ing a face rather like a potato Curiously we who knew him found both descriptions each in its way correct)

Reed went to Paterson spent three weeks in the midst of the strike led the foreign born workers as once h had the Harvard cheerin, section in revolutionary son, listened excitedly to I W W speakers got locked up in a Paterson jail When the police who had arrested him for resistin, an officer (refusing to move on) found that he was embarrassin, them by articles on prison conditions they threw him out after four days of his thirty day term He headed straight for Mabel Dod,e s home Since it had been her idea he somehow took it for granted that she would work wi h him on bringing the strike to Madison Square Garden His exuberance dragged her into an enter prise alien to her nature Thus was born Th Pageant of the Paterson Strike " and thus John Reed became an ad herent of the I W W

His scenario was rather bare and simple but the nov elty of mass scene with real strikers and I W W leaders as actors gave the performance an intensity beyond the stren,th of the script Of course Jack .ppeared in his own pageant to lead the strikers—and the audience—in sing ing revolutionary son,s

It is hard work to fill Madison Square Garden The dollar and two-dollar .ea.s remained almost empty until workingmen and strikers were let in to fill them free or at

goods Jo Davidson, Margaret Sanger Alexander Berkman Emma Goldman Max Eastman Frances Perkins Andrew Dasburg Charles Demuth, Marsden Hartley Amos Pinchot Amy Lowell Edward Arlington Robinson Carl Van Vechten Harry Kemp Frank Harris George Sylvester Viereck John Collier an inexhaustible *Who s Who* in the flesh The kaleidoscope shifted each Wednesday night but to young Reed all the variegated patterns were attractive and beautiful

Sometimes Mrs Dodge set the subject and selected an opening speaker Sometimes she shifted the night to make sure of a more uniform specially invited group More often however the talk flowed out of the diversity of personalities and attitudes or convictions Here from her *Intimate Memoirs* is her account of one of her special evenings

I switched from the usual Wednesday to a Monday so that none but more or less radical sympathizers would be there People who believed that others had the right to kill on principle if they thought it Right The Live and Let Live Kind of People

One evening she took her guests to hear Bill Haywood (a great battered hulk of a man with one eye gone and an eminent look in the other) at the home of his mistress a Village schoolteacher He talked of the desperate Paterson Silk Strike of police brutality and the silence of the metropolitan press

Why don t you bring the strike to New York and *show* it? asked Mabel Dodge In Madison Square Garden why not?

"I'll do it!" cried a voice—and a young man detached himself from the group and assumed a personality before my

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Why don t you bring the strike to New York and *show* it? asked Mabel Dodge In Madison Square Garden why not?

I ll do it! cried a voice—and a young man detached himself from the group and assumed a personality before my

eyes. His olive green eyes glowed softly his high fore head was like a baby s with light brown curls rolling away from it and two spots of shining light on his temples making him lovable His chin was the best the real poet s jawbone eyebrows always lifted generally breath less[1]

(Max Eastman has affectionately described Jack as having a face rather like a potato" Curiously we who knew him found both descriptions each in its way correct)

Reed went to Paterson spent three weeks in the midst of the strike led the foreign born workers as once he had the Harvard cheering section in revolutionary song listened excitedly to I W W speakers got locked up in a Paterson jail When the police who had arrested him for resisting an officer (refusing to move on) found that he was embarrassing them by articles on prison conditions they threw him out after four days of his thirty-day term He headed straight for Mabel Dodge s home Since it had been her idea he somehow took it for granted that she would work with him on bringing the strike to Madison Square Garden His exuberance dragged her into an enterprise alien to her nature Thus was born 'The Pageant of the Paterson Strike and thus John Reed became an adherent of the I W W

His scenario was rather bare and simple but the novelty of mass scenes with real strikers and I W W leaders as actors gave the performance an intensity beyond the strength of the script Of course Jack appeared in his own pageant to lead the strikers—and the audience—in singing revolutionary songs

It is hard work to fill Madison Square Garden The dollar and two-dollar seats remained almost empty until workingmen and strikers were let in to fill them free or at

ten cents a seat Instead of making money, the pageant ended with a deficit The long strike too was finally lost But Jack did not stay to learn the results The day after the pageant before the accounting was in he and Mabel left on the same boat for Europe

When he came to the Village he had a girl whom he had wanted to marry For the first five months I was sentimental about it and remained chaste Then she was forgotten and he followed a roving eye and fancy into a succession of affairs all wonderful but none deep When he told his current love Rose I don t love you I love Mabel Dodge she shed a few tears on his shoulder and sobbed I am so unhappy then suddenly raised her eyes in surprise and said Why no I m not!

But the love for Mabel Dodge was different By her own account it must have been a possessive even an oppressive passion She was jealous of the stones of Venice of the way he felt about history and the way he said The things *Men* have done! (Past or present I did not care what they had done I jumped into the automobile and returned to Florence leaving him there to it) She was jealous of the Harvard friends who came to take him out on stag explorations Later when Steffens had Reed sent to Mexico to report on the revolution there she was jealous of his life with Villa s band And she was jealous of the Great War which took her away from him when he became a correspondent in Europe

Good bye my darling [he wrote after one such quarrel] You smother me You crush me You want to kill my spirit I love you better than life but do not want to die in my spirit I am going away to save myself Forgive me I love you I love you Reed

Yet always he returned and the contest continued Then suddenly after a year and some months love for Reed in Mabel Dodge died as swiftly as it had flared up Yet for some time he continued to count on it had editors send her reports on him wrote her of brief affairs with other girls and of his enduring love for her

For her part she could not see why they should not continue to be close friends " She even tried to house him as her guest in the attic of the farmhouse she took with Maurice Sterne but he could not act out this desperate Village convention Why can t people *live* their theories anyway? she protested.

Not until December of 1915 was Jack able to break the spell Then he wrote to a friend

> I think I ve found her at last She s wild brave and straight —and graceful and lovely to look at In this spiritual vacuum this unfertilized soil [he was writing from Portland where he was visiting his mother] she has grown (how I can t imagine) into an artist She is coming to New York to get a job—with me I hope I think she is the first person I ever loved without reservation

The new love was Louise Bryant Trullinger wife of a Portland dentist, unhappy with Portland and with him hungering for New York and the promise of adventure Thus began a stormy love broken by quarrels separations and intermittent affairs on both sides yet continuing In November 1916 when Jack went to the hospital to get his ailing kidney removed they were married In 1917 and again in 1919 she went to Russia when Reed was there and wrote as a correspondent in her own right. She accompanied him in most of his adventures of those ten

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autumn days of 1917 that shook the world She was at his bedside in Moscow when he died

In November 1913 John Reed went to Mexico to re port for the *Metropolitan* and the *World* To him the Mex ican Revolution was a pageant a succession of thrilling adventures a delight to the eye a chance to make the reassuring discovery that he was not afraid of a hail of bullets His reports flowed with life and movement simple savage men capricious cruelty warm comradeship splashes of color bits of marching and campfire song frag ments of social and political dreams gay humor personal peril reckless daring Neither Steffens who attached him self to Carranza nor Reed who celebrated the pastoral dreams and bloody deeds of Pancho Villa had any real understanding of the Mexican maze But Reed s mixture of personal adventure and camera eye close ups lighted by a poet s vision made superb reporting The book that came of it *Insurgent Mexico* despite its careless ignorance of men events and forces and even of Spanish which he mangled in the snatches of ballad was closer to the feel of Mexico in revolution than most things Americans have written on it When he returned to New York he found he had a reputation as a top war correspondent

When war broke out in Europe in 1914 he was assigned to cover it by the *Metropolitan* He went to Italy—nothing worthy of his pen Then France which had settled down to the stalemate of trench warfare It seemed dull and gloomy with none of the excitement of Pancho Villa s hard riding band He tried England—no story there either

The real war he wrote parrot ng Steffens is a clash of traders Like most Village radicals he was inclined to sympathy with Germany as the underdog the late comer among trading and colonizing nations who had

arrived on the scene when everything was pre-empted Not much to choose between the sides but the Entente seemed to him more hypocritical His most violent language he reserved for England who

> grips the Red Sea sucks the blood from India menaces a half billion human beings from Hong Kong owns all Australia half North America and half of Africa the great intriguer sitting like a spider in the web of nations It was England s will that Germany should be destroyed.

The *Metropolitan* did not print the article

Since America was neutral he headed next for the German side and its front in occupied France His reports were in general favorable to the occupiers In the foremost trench where he could see the French lines and the dead in No-Man s Land he spent a night under fire After a night in rain and mud and a downfall of shrapnel and shells he was asked by a German lieutenant whether he would like to have a shot With a rifle borrowed from a German soldier he fired two shots at daybreak in the general direction of the French line This escapade reported by a fellow correspondent was to cause trouble for him later in Tsarist Russia be held a ainst him in Washington cause him to be barred from France That is how John Reed came to be transferred from the Western to the Eastern Front

His work as a European war correspondent was a disappointment to editors friends and to Jack himself His recklessness poet s vision camera eye and shallow explanations concerning the "traders war were not enough to work with in the grim vast irreducible stalemate I have come to hate Europe he wrote to his mother

The Eastern Front proved little more rewardin, Hav

ing worked his way up through the Balkans into Russia without permission from the Russian authorities and pursued by the story of two shots from a Mauser he landed in a Russian jail It was sixteen days before American officials could arrange his ignominious departure With his usual boyish exuberance he had written on his passport for the benefit of the Russian authorities I am a German and an Austrian spy I do it for money Reed

Yet, despite his misadventures his brief stay in Russia had made him a complete Russophile He felt at home in the esthetic intensity and disorder as he had felt at home in Mexico

> Russian ideals are the most exhilarating Russian thought the freest Russian art the most exuberant Russian food and drink are to me the best and Russians themselves are perhaps *the most interesting human beings that exist* *There* the people live as if they know it was a Great Empire Everyone acts just as he feels like acting and says just what he wants to There are no particular times for getting up or going to bed or eating dinner and there is no conventional way of murdering a man or of making love

It was Tsarist Russia of late 1915 that he was celebrating

Back in America in early 1916 Reed grew alarmed by his country s drift toward war With Henrietta Rodman Franklin Giddings Carlton Hayes John Dewey he signed *an appeal to Socialists to vote for Wilson because he has* kept us out of war When George Creel organized a group of writers to re-elect Wilson including Steffens Howe Zona Gale Hutch Hapgood George Cram Cook Susan *Glaspell* Reed joined that too America s swift entrance into the war on the side of the Allies a few months later

even before Wilson had delivered his Second Inaugural Address goes far to explain the subsequent alienated fury of Village radicalism

After the removal of his long ailing kidney the publica tion of a slender volume of undistinguished poems the writing of his backward glance over the first twenty nine years of his life Jack sought an assignment to Russia where the Tsar had just fallen In his *Almost Thirty* he wrote

> I must find myself again Some men seem to get their direction early I have no idea what I shall be or do one month from now Whenever I have tried to become some one thing I have failed only by drifting with the wind I have found myself I wish with all my heart that the proletariat would rise and take their rights But I am not sure any more that the working class is capable of revolu tion peaceful or otherwise The War has been a terrible shatterer of faith And yet I cannot give up the idea that out of democracy will be born the new world—richer braver freer more beautiful And I don t know what I can do to help My happiness is built on the misery of other people that fact poisons me disturbs my serenity makes me write propa anda when I would rather play

This was his mood when on August 17 1917 having been exempted from the draft because of his kidney opera tion John Reed set sail with Louise for Russia

He arrived in Petrograd late that August predisposed to witness a miracle The Russophile the minstrel of Villa s revolution the I W W enthusiast the disillusioned Social ist and Wilsonian pacifist the poet who wanted to belong but could not find out to what—suddenly fused into one The civilization he both rejected and loved was in un

darsky another emigre back from America to become one of Bolshevism s top leaders Melnichansky Bolshevik leader whom Reed had known as George Melcher in Bayonne New Jersey Bill Shatov returned from Village anarchism and I W W membership filled with the cer tainty that Lenin was about to inaugurate anarchy by withering away the state the moment he got hold of it B sides in the back of every meeting into which Jack shouldered his way there was always someone to answer his perpetual breathless Say what s going on here?

Sometimes with Gombere Williams Louise and Bessie Beatty (another American correspondent) and sometimes alone he made his way into every institution meeting skirmish into the Smolny Institute where from October 25* on the Bolsheviks had their military headquarters into the City Duma stronghold of liberal democracy into the Soviets of Workers and Soldiers and the Soviets of Peasants into barracks factory meetings street proces sions meeting halls courtrooms into the Winter Palace when it was being defended by student officer candidates and a woman s battalion and again when it was being overrun by the Red Guard and looted to Moscow to see what dama e had been done to the architectural monu ments of the Kremlin to the shifting battlefront at Tsar skoe Selo and Gatchina where armies dissolved and re formed and changed sides in the midst of a hail of propa ganda nd negotiations more than bullets In October November and D cember all Russia was meeting and John Reed was meeting with it

If two shots from a German Mauser did not make him cease to be a neutral in The Great War in this class war pure and simple as he called it he strove to be a par

* w g J h Reed proced i T *Day* I h ve sed th d tes f the R f rm d New Style or West rn alend Th Octobe 25 b e- l rred to is thus weeks before the Bolshe ik seizu of pow

ticipant as well as an observer Twice he addressed crowds in the Cirque Moderne bringing fraternal greetings (from whom?) being introduced as a spokesman for the American Socialist Party (which he was not) and as a man under indictment in far off capitalist America (which as an editor of the antiwar *Masses* he was) He addressed Bolshevik factory meetings careened around the city on one of their trucks hurling out leaflets he could not read joined the looting throng in the Winter Palace carrying off some notes of a doomed Minister and a jewel handled sword concealed under his coat * With his poet s blood and rebel s heart he decided what to believe then with the artist s gift for selection heightening and unifying he assimilated all the chaotic impressions into a picture more unitary impressive satisfying than the chaos he was witnessing

When Boardman Robinson reproached him once with but it didn t happen that way! —his answer was an *ad hominem* of one artist to another What the hell difference does it make? he cried and seizing one of Robinson s sketches She didn t have a bundle as big as that he didn t have so full a beard But drawing—Robinson explained—was not a matter of photographic accuracy but of overall impression Exactly! Reed cried in triumph That is just what I am trying to do!

Yet there is nothing of the mean deliberate lie about John Reed s book A good reporter always in the thick of things his sense of vivid detail often makes one page refute another and establishes many a to him unpalatable truth He was vulnerable to gossip rumor and conjecture

* Louise Bryant spe ks of s'l er C uca I n d gg r a hort word present d by the Tsar a secured in n change of k ps kes w th some J k (mil t ry cadets) bef e th B l h k c pt e of th W nt r P l c and she d n es th t th e w a y looti g Gran ille Hicks who used interviews with Louise w th Bess e B tty Alex Gomberg nd Albert Rhys Will m gi es the story as I have t ld it here

that accorded with his preconceptions but what he actually saw with his own eyes he did his best to record faithfully

He idealized the masses He believed the ridiculous legend born perhaps of his own fantasy that the Bolshevik Central Committee after having rejected the idea of insurrection was made to reverse itself by a single speech of a rank and file workingman (There was such a reversal but the rank and file workingman was Lenin!) Though literacy had been declining all through the war and would continue to decline for years after Reed wrote sincerely All Russia was learning to read A few pages later without any sense of contradiction comes this vivid scene

> We did not notice a change in the attitude of the soldiers and Red Guards around us A small group followed us
>
> By the time we reached the picture gallery about a hundred men surged in after us One giant of a soldier stood in our path his face dark with sullen suspicion "Who are you?" he growled The others massed slowly around staring and beginning to mutter I produced our passes from the Military Revolutionary Committee The soldier took them gingerly turned them upside down and looked at them without comprehension Evidently he could not read *Bumagi* [papers] he said with contempt The mass began to close in like wild cattle around a cowpuncher on foot

It was an officer from that intelligentsia which Reed professed to despise who—frightened and sweating—managed to save Jack and Louise from instant lynching At the front he was nearly lynched by a detachment of Red Guards none of whom could read his Russian credential and again he was saved by an officer But he never permitted himself to doubt that the mob was just and wise and lynchings salutary

For Reed the revolution was holy As a devout Chris

tian may believe that on the night that celebrates the Savior s birth no spirit dares stir abroad the nights are wholesome then no planets strike nor fairy takes nor witch hath power to charm so hallow d and so gracious is the time —so Reed writes of the night Lenin seized power On that night not a single hold up occurred not a single robbery And three days later Quiet the city lay not a hold up not a robbery not even a drunken fight Yet this does not prevent him from quoting Trotsky on the all embracing wave of drunkenness which followed the seizure of power Nor prevent his reproducing a *Prikaz* showing that the drunken revelry continued into late December and was then to be met by dynamiting wine cellars without prior warning to those engaged in their pillage It is instructive to compare Reed s Quiet the city lay with the plaint of Antonov Ovseenko leader of the attack on the Winter Palace

> The Preobrazhensky regiment got completely drunk while guarding the wine cellars of the Palace The Pavlovsky regiment did not withstand the temptation either Mixed picked guards were sent they too got drunk Members of the regimental committees were assigned These succumbed too Men of the armored brigades were ordered to disperse the crowds—they paraded up and down then began to sway suspiciously An attempt was made to flood the cellars The fire brigades got drunk At dusk the mad bacchanals would spread Let us finish off these Tsarist remnants! This gay slogan took hold of the crowd The whole city was infected by this drinking madness The Council of People s Commissars appointed a special commissar with emergency powers But the commissar too proved unreliable

Antono -Ovseenko *Zapl kl o G hd koi V l e* I pp 19 -0

Yet Jack did not see it until actual shooting between the drunken soldiers and the Helsin fors sailors sent to dynamite the barrels and bottles in the cellars of the Win ter Palace * Reed puts the beginning of the looting of wine cellars as toward the end of November and accepts the legend that the soldiers drank only on the instigation of counter revolutionists But Trotsky found it necessary to make his first speech on the wave of drunkenness on the fourth day after the seizure of power that is after the very night of which Reed wrote Quiet the city lay Only one completely possessed by his dream could have written that sentence

Though this dream revolution obscured his vision at times his eyes were everywhere And his person too He tried to see it all put it all on paper If he did not compre hend the meaning of the large events what observer or par ticipant did? He understood less and misunderstood more than many so that one of the personages of whom he wrote would say to me of his book 'The work of an innocent who did not know whether he was attending a wedding or a funeral' ** It was a funeral—of Russia s newly won liberties achieved after a century of struggle If Jack thou ht he was witnessing the wedding of liberty and justice destined to live together happily ever after so well does he report that we can see the acts of burial even as he sings of nuptials

As a record of significant detail as a repository of facts for the historian his book is crammed with precious ma terial interviews speeches resolutions press accounts One of his habits was to tear down a specimen of every poster or proclamation for future translation The book is

Th inform on on rning the m me t f R d awar ness mes f m Bes Beatty *Th R d H art f R ia* p 3 9 ff

Th ords are th se f Wlad m W ytinsky (V tinsky) in his t years ne f America most distinguish d communists

full of quotations from such documents and illustrated by photos of many of them—a priceless opportunity for the historian to enter into a time that has passed

Whether because of or despite the dream which possessed him as literature Reed s book is the finest piece of eyewitness reporting the revolution produced It is his true monument more enduring than the ashes and the name carved on the Kremlin Wall

After the *Ten Days* the rest of John Reed s life is anticlimax He tried to become a Communist politician but as a politician he was out of his element He sat on tiresome committees and toured the country speaking on the Russian Revolution Politics as politics was dull but he found excitement in the possibility of martyrdom Though the country was in the grip of wartime fever and hysteria somehow officials courts and juries rejected the idea that Reed was suitable as a symbolic martyr Officials returned the posters and notebooks they had seized from him when he landed in America the indictments against him as a *Masses* editor an opponent of war an inciter to riot a preacher of sedition all were quashed or dismissed or ended in acquittal When he was in a Finnish jail as earlier in the jail of Tsarist Russia American officials a little reluctantly perhaps intervened on his behalf He helped to split the Socialist Party got caught up in the frustrating splits of the nascent Communist Party all the while longing to get back to the old life of poetry and adventure Twice he fled from cheerless meetings to seek out Sherwood Anderson If I were dead sure I had something on the ball as a poet he said to Anderson wistfully

Candor compelled him as he read his own verses to recognize that he did not have much on the ball as a poet

He wrote propa anda articles on America the world sit uation communism Except for a challen ing title and an occasional impudently humorous phrase they are dull foolish barely readable His spirits rose only when there was some chance of excitement as when he and Eadmonn MacAlpine secretly forged a parody replica of the New York *Socialist* and man ged to place it on sale at Socialist headquarters until the prank was discovered He spent the autumn of 1919 in Provincetown I wish I could stay he e he told Susan Glaspell but I have promised too many people

Then came the chance to return to adventure The oc casion was petty to present the faction case of one of the splin ers of the new Communist movement as against the other before the Communist International To get to the Red Mecca was a quest perilous Fearful of the conta ion of revolution the West had set up a *cordon sanitaire* around Russia as later the Kremlin would set up its own *iron curtain* against the conta ion of freedom Denied a passport Jack sailed with forged papers as Jim Gormley stoker on a Scandinavian vessel. Thou h his health had been weakened by the kidney operation and by irregular habits of eating drinking and sleeping Gormley did his work satisfactorily as a stoker—until he jumped ship in Norway From there he stowed away in a greasy pile of rags on a ship bound to Finland and was smuggled across the Finnish frontier into Russia

It was not the Russia he had dreamed of He was hurt by the spectacle of hun er misery breakdown apathy above all by the way the new official class was beginning to lavish care on itself in the midst of universal misery He strove to preserve the fragments of his dreams by at tributing everything to the civil war and blockade and

favorable to the I W W As for Reed he had been brought to the labor movement by the I W W s strike in Paterson The leaders of the I W W had gone to jail *en masse* for opposing the war while the A F of L had been pro-war and supported th system The A F of L must be smashed and the I W W supported

That Lenin had made up his mind for America did not impress Jack It was the Americans who knew their land and had to determine the policies they were to carry out in it He prepared for a fight On behalf of thirty dele ates from the English speaking countries Reed introduced two motions to put the trade union question at the top of the order of business and to add English to the already adopted German French and Russian as an official language of debate With Zinoviev in the chair the motions were not voted down but simply ruled out.

> As I was the only translator [writes Angelica Balabanoff] I remember the protest of the English speaking delegations be c use the Chair decided not to have the speeches translated into En lish I was naive enough to believe that this omis sion was to save time or translation work When I said that I would ladly translate into En lish too my offer was not taken into consideration

Thus Reed could neither have his arguments seriously presented to other delegations nor find out what was being said a ainst them He had een steamrollers before but never one like this Shunted to the Trade Union Com mission he was told bluntly that the matter was settled and he must obey discipline Radek charged him with sabotage Zinoviev mocked him for believing that Amer ica could be taken from the Rockefellers and Morgans but not the A F of L from the Gompers As boss of

ignoring the contribution to the breakdown made by Lenin s absurd outlawing of trade between town and coun try and his nationalization of everything down to the last inkwell *

From every trip wrote Angelica Balabanoff then Secretary of the Communist International he would come back to the capital less and less cheerful more and more sad and preoccupied because of the superfluous suf ferings of the people those which could have been avoided

He made two attempts to return to America On the second he was caught in Finland and after more than two months of hunger and filth in a Finnish jail was de ported back to Moscow He had scurvy his arms and legs were swollen from malnutrition but he continued as be fore to insist on living like the ordinary Russian

Now he decided to wait for the Second Congress the first genuine congress of the Communist International From its sessions came another sort of disillusion to which his heart was peculiarly vulnerable

The order of business for the congress had been deter mined by Lenin Having concluded that the great push for world revolution had failed and with it the attempt to smash the old Socialist parties and trade unions Lenin set it down as the immediate task of all revolutionaries to return to or infiltrate the old trade unions As always Lenin took it for granted that whatever conclusion he had come to in evaluation in strategy and in tactics was infallibly right In the Comintern as in his own party his word was law and wisdom

But the British delegates had worked out their own attitude toward the Labor Party while the Americans were hostile to the American Federation of Labor and

The phrase i Bukharin s.

peraments traits and costumes of the men from the East fascinated him their sudden drawin, and brandishing of curved scimitars to approve a resolution captivated his romantic imagination But the demagogy of Zinoviev and Radek and the ostentatious luxury on the official train running through a land of famine sickened him

Back in Moscow Jack took to his b d with typhus How much the virus how much the ravaged body how much the broken spirit contributed we can only guess To Angelica Balabanoff and to Louise Bryant who had just managed to come to Moscow from America it seemed—as An elica was to write—that the "moral and nervous shock had deprived him of the wish to live of that love of life that was so *prominent in his character*

When Kobetski technical secretary of the International *wrote to Lenin that Reed was dead Lenin answered*

Comrade Kobetski!

1 Your report (that is the report of the physician you *sent me*) and *the note should be sent abroad*

2 Who is in charge of th Hotel Lux? Its remodeling for the Comintern? The management part?

Lenin 18/X

With his death all rebellion ended As the author of what Lenin rightly esteemed to be the best book on his seizure of power Reed was given a state funeral Feeling that she could not speak of *him* without speaking of the sadness of his last days Angelica Balabanoff refused to deliver an address or even attend his funeral I knew Reed would have understood. Most of the people who commemorated him were *not entitled to do so* Their speeches *had* to be cold official conventional Like Lenin s note

the *apparat* Zinoviev mobilized obedient henchmen lined up delegations on the basis of loyalty to the Russians held meetings without notifying the recalcitrant Reed of time or place

Still Jack would not give in A rebel not a robot he was not made to be a cog in a machine The Comintern even then was on its way to becoming a monolith appropriate symbol not of the diversity of rebellious humanity but of the solid block of granite which might serve as tombstone over men s hope of freedom Of the impatient and ardent rebels who had flocked to Moscow from all over the world not one would long endure in the Comintern Even Angelica Balabanoff despite her decades of activity in two parties and in the Second and Third Internationals would last only a few months longer By the time the congress was over Angelica was the only Russian leader to whom Jack could talk or confide his doubts and sorrows Yet he still had fight in him He wrote an article for his party s journal in which he said Nobody in Russia seems to understand industrial unionism At the next Congress these theses must be altered But for him there was to be no next congress

When he came to me after the Congress Dr Balabanoff wrote he was in a terrible state of depression He looked old and exhausted The experience had been a terrible blow Either during the congress or right after it Reed resigned his post as member of the Executive of the International as a protest his Communist biographers have circumspectly said on an organization question Somehow he was persuaded to withdraw his resignation and somehow made to go with Zinoviev Radek and a trainload of delegates and officials to a Congress of the Toiling Peoples of the East in Baku The variegated tem

Lenin Trotsky Lunacharsky this trinity has been omitted But Trotsky s ghost is not so easily laid Where his name is first introduced by Reed a footnote now describes him as a

> Menshevik who headed the centrist trend (Trotskyism) in the Russian Social Democratic Movement a concealed liquidator durin the first World War occupied the chauvin istic position of defense of the fatherland propagating the slogan Neither victory nor d feat expelled from the Party in 1927 for anti Party and counter revolutionary ac tivities In 1929 he was sent abroad where he continued to wage a struggle against the Soviet Union and the Communist Parties

Of his murder in Mexico not a word

But Trotsky haunts so many pages of Reed s book At the point where he appears as spokesman for the Bolshe viks Chairman of the Petrograd Soviet and of the Military Revolutionary Committee another footnote explains

> The inexorable logic of historical events sometimes forced the representatives of the capitulating line to talk and act against their own convictions This happened to Trotsky in the period of the uprisin when as Chairman of the Peters burg Soviet, forced by the objective development of the Revolution he had to pursue the Leninist tactics of uprising At the meeting of the Petrograd Soviet of October 25 (No vember 7) faced with the accomplished fact of the victory of the rising people Trotsky was compelled to answer in the spirit of Leninist tactics The will of the All Russian Congress of Soviets has been anticipated by the rising of the Petrograd workers and soldiers He was compelled to say

I am ind b d t thi inf rm tion to M Le pold Labedz, dit t
5 ? S rvey wh mad omparison f th late t edition w th th o gi l
(

A decade passed and Reed s ashes lay forgotten along with his sturdy example of independence Then Stalin began to find use for the names of the safely dead while he was purging the living including most of the men who figure so prominently in Reed s book Trotsky Antonov Ovseenko Kamenev Zinoviev Bukharin Radek Shliapnikov and so many more *Ten Days That Shook the World* kept them alive in its pages so it too was suppressed first in Russia then wherever the Comintern owned the copyright through a manipulated publisher But in America John Reed s name was *exploited through the* John Reed Clubs A biography was invented for him in which his rebellious spirit and manly opposition to dictatorial authority found no place

Suddenly in the middle thirties the line changed once more In the new Popular Fronts revolution and hostility to liberal and democratic intellectuals was to be played down Since Reed s name was inseparable from the events the attitudes and the very idea of the October Revolution it was dropped as remorselessly as it had been *previously used Overnight the John Reed Clubs* became the League of American Writers

With Stalin s death the wheel of fortune took yet another turn Reed s book reappeared in Russia It contains as before Lenin s foreword of unqualified praise but an anonymous postcript discreetly contradicts it

The book does not sufficiently reflect the stubborn struggle conducted by Lenin and his closest companions against the capitulators and against the tactical line of Trotsky

John Reed s text is actually tampered with in only one passage Where in his preliminary Notes and Explanations he had listed as among the leaders of the Bolsheviks

Lenin Trotsky Lunacharsky" this trinity has been omitted * But Trotsky s ghost is not so easily laid Where his name is first introduced by Reed a footnote now describes him as a

> Menshevik who headed the centrist trend (Trotskyism) in the Russian Social Democratic Movement a concealed liquidator during the first World War occupied the chauvin istic position of defense of the fatherland propagating the slo an Neither victory nor defeat expelled from the Party in 1927 for anti Party and counter revolutionary ac tivities In 1929 he was sent abroad where he continued to wa e a stru le against the Soviet Union and the Communist Parties

Of his murder in Mexico not a word

But Trotsky haunts so many pages of Reed s book At the point where he appears as spokesman for the Bolshe viks Chairman of the Petrograd Soviet and of the Military Revolutionary Committee another footnote explains

> The inexorable logic of historical events sometimes forced the representatives of the capitulating line to talk and act against their own convictions This happened to Trotsky in the period of the uprising when as Chairman of the Peters burg Soviet forced by the objective development of the Revolution he had to pursue the Leninist tactics of uprising At the meeting of the Petrograd Soviet of October 25 [No- vember 7] faced with the accomplished fact of the victory of the rising people Trotsky was compelled to answer in the spirit of Leninist tactics "The will of the All Russian Con ress of Soviets has been anticipated by the rising of the Petrograd workers and soldiers He was compelled to say

* I am ind b ed for thi inf rm ti to Mr Le pold Labedz, d to t S Surv y h mad comparison f th latest editi w th th gi l t

A decade passed and Reed s ashes lay forgotten along with his sturdy example of independence Then Stalin began to find use for the names of the safely dead while he was purging the living including most of the men who figure so prominently in Reed s book Trotsky Antonov Ovseenko Kamenev Zinoviev Bukharin Radek Shliapnikov and so many more *Ten Days That Shook the World* kept them alive in its pages so it too was suppressed first in Russia then wherever the Comintern owned the copyright through a manipulated publisher But in America John Reed s name was exploited through the John Reed Clubs A biography was invented for him in which his rebellious spirit and manly opposition to dictatorial authority found no place

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his *Tchernov* which follows the French method of trans literating is here written Chernov but from his Colpinno now generally written Kolpino I have eliminated the double *n* but retained the *C* since it is just as logical for pronunciation purposes as the more generally used K

3 Most of Re d s footnotes to the first edition were rele ated to an appendix at the back of the book For greater convenience I have put them immediately after the chapter to which they belong Where Reed put brief notes at the bottom of a page that procedure has been retained Where I have ventured to add an occasional clarifyin footnote of my own it is followed by the indica tion —*Ed*

what was contrary to what he had said two days before at the Plenum of the Petrograd Soviet on October 23

Thus John Reed s spirit still evades official control and goes its own way It will escape the bonds of such foot notes to stir the young in Russia as it has outlasted a quarter of a century—actually twenty seven years—of suppression It lives on in the record of his rebellious adventurous, generously romantic perpetually immature brave poet s life And in his colorful *Insurgent Mexico* And at its enduring best in *Ten Days That Shook the World*

* * * *

The present edition follows the first edition as prepared by John Reed personally and published early in 1919 with the following changes

1 It includes Lenin s foreword written by him in 1919 but first published in America as a foreword to the edition of 1926

2 I have corrected obvious typographical errors and errors in Russian made more self consistent the trans literation of Russian names corrected errors in the initials of identifiable personages But where Reed has mistakenly substituted one personage for another as for example where he attributes a speech made by Ehrlich of the Bund to Abramovich of the same organization his text has been kept the correction being indicated in a footnote Where Reed s transcription of a name differs from that which has become subsequently familiar I have used the more familiar transcription With less well known people where his spelling of Russian names differs from the stand ard of the Library of Congress now generally followed in America but his transliteration has an inner consistency of its own I have generally retained Reed s spelling Thu

This book is a slice of intensified history—history as I saw it. It does not pretend to be anything but a detailed account of the November Revolution, when the Bolsheviki, at the head of the workers and soldiers, seized the state power of Russia and placed it in the hands of the Soviets.

Naturally most of it deals with "Red Petrograd," the capital and heart of the insurrection. But the reader must realize that what took place in Petrograd was almost exactly duplicated, with greater or lesser intensity, at different intervals of time, all over Russia.

In this book, the first of several which I am writing, I must confine myself to a chronicle of those events which I myself observed and experienced, and those supported by reliable evidence; preceded by two chapters briefly outlining the background and causes of the November Revolution. I am aware that these two chapters make difficult reading, but they are essential to an understanding of what follows.

Many questions will suggest themselves to the mind of the reader. What is Bolshevism? What kind of a governmental structure did the Bolsheviki set up? If the Bolsheviki championed the Constituent Assembly before the November Revolution, why did they disperse it by force of arms afterward? And if the bourgeoisie opposed the Constituent Assembly until the danger of Bolshevism became apparent, why did they champion it afterward?

These and many other questions cannot be answered here. In another volume, *Kornilov to Brest Litovsk*,* I

* Reed never finished [illegible] never published this work.—*Ed.*

FOREWORD

With the greatest interest and with never slackening atten tion I read John Reed s book *Ten Days That Shook the World* Unreservedly do I recommend it to the workers of the world Here is a book which I should like to see published in millions of copies and translated into all lan guages It gives a truthful and most vivid exposition of the events so significant to the comprehension of what really is the Proletarian Revolution and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat These problems are widely discussed but before one can accept or reject these ideas he must understand the full significance of his decision John Reed s book will undoubtedly help to clear this question which is the fundamental problem of the international la bor movement

V I Lenin

End of 1919 *

Len n w ote th f eword ft r reading a present t on c py wh ch Reed g h m d r ng the y ar 1919 It was fi st p bl hed R n n tl ed t on of 19 3 and i Engl h n 19 6 B t ea ly s D mbe 16 19 4 p e um bly u d pr s u e f om St l n a d h s a soc t s Krup kay (Le n s w f) p bl sh d a st t m t n *P d* t the effect th t th book cont n d l gend and accur and h d been p ed by Len n only bec use it gave an admirable pictu e of the p r t of the revol t on —*Ed*

very well the state of mind of the Russian workers who were later to support Bolshevism almost unanimously

They (the working people) saw it was possible that even under a free Government if it fell into the hands of other social classes they might still continue to starve

The Russian workman is revolutionary but he is neither violent dogmatic nor unintelligent. He is ready for barricades but he has studied them and alone of the workers of th world he has learned about them from actual experience He is ready and willing to fi ht his oppressor the capitalist class to a finish But he does not ignore the existence of other classes He merely asks that the other classes take one side or the other in the bitter conflict that draws near

They (the workers) were all agreed that our (American) political institutions were preferable to their own but they were not very anxious to exchan e one despot for another (i e the capitalist class)

The workingmen of Russia did not have themselves shot down executed by hundreds in Moscow Riga and Odessa im prisoned by thousands in every Russian jail and exiled to the deserts and the arctic regions in exchange for the doubtful privileges of the workingmen of Goldfields and Cripple Creek

And so developed in Russia in the midst of a foreign war the Social Revolution on top of the Political Revolu tion culminating in the triumph of Bolshevism

Mr A J Sack director in this country of the Russian Information Bureau which opposes the Soviet Govern ment has this to say in his book *The Birth of the Rus sian Democracy*

The Bolsheviks organised their own cabinet with Nicholas Lenin as Premier and Leon Trotsky—Minister of Foreign Affairs The inevitability of their coming into power became

trace the course of the Revolution up to and including the German peace There I explain the origin and functions of the Revolutionary organisations the evolution of popular sentiment the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly the structure of the Soviet state and the course and out come of the Brest Litovsk negotiations

In considering the rise of the Bolsheviki it is necessary to understand that Russian economic life and the Russian army were not disorganised on November 7th 1917 but many months before as the logical result of a process which began as far back as 1915 The corrupt reactionaries in control of the Tsar s Court deliberately undertook to wreck Russia in order to make a separate peace with Germany The lack of arms on the front which had caused the great retreat of the summer of 1915 the lack of food in the army and in the great cities the break down of manufactures and transportation in 1916—all these we know now were part of a gigantic campaign of sabotage [1] This was halted just in time by the March Revolution

For the first few months of the new régime in spite of the confusion incident upon a great Revolution when one hundred and sixty millions of the world s most oppressed peoples suddenly achieved liberty both the internal situation and the combative power of the army actually improved

But the honeymoon was short The propertied classes wanted merely a political revolution which would take the power from the Tsar and give it to them They wanted Russia to be a constitutional Republic like France or the United States or a constitutional Monarchy like England On the other hand the masses of the people wanted real industrial and agrarian democracy

William English Walling in his book *Russia s Message* an account of the Revolution of 1905 describes

Committees plants were shut down and fuel and raw materials diverted to break the Army Committees at the front capital punishment was restored and military defeat connived at[3]

This was all excellent fuel for the Bolshevik fire The Bolsheviki retorted by preaching the class war and by asserting the supremacy of the Soviets

Between these two extremes with the other factions which whole heartedly or half heartedly supported them were the so-called moderate" Socialists the Mensheviki and Socialist Revolutionaries and several smaller parties These groups were also attacked by the propertied classes but their power of resistance was crippled by their theories

Roughly the Mensheviki and Socialist Revolutionaries[4] believed that Russia was not economically ripe for a social revolution—that only a *political* revolution was possible According to their interpretation the Russian masses were not educated enough to take over the power any attempt to do so would inevitably bring on a reaction by means of which some ruthless opportunist might restore the old regime And so it followed that when the moderate Socialists were forced to assume the power they were afraid to use it

They believed that Russia must pass through the stages of political and economic development known to Western Europe and emerge at last with the rest of the world into full fledged Socialism Naturally therefore they agreed with the propertied classes that Russia must first be a parliamentary state—though with some improvements on the Western democracies As a consequence they insisted upon the collaboration of the propertied classes in the Government

From this it was an easy step to supporting them The moderate Socialists needed the bourgeoisie But the

evident almost immediately after the March Revolution The *history of the Bolsheviki after the Revolution is a history of* their steady growth

Foreigners and Americans especially, frequently em phasise the ignorance of the Russian workers It is true they lacked the political experience of the peoples of the West but they were very well trained in voluntary or ganisation In 1917 there were more than twelve million members of the Russian consumers Cooperative societies and the Soviets themselves are a wonderful demonstration of their organising genius Moreover there is probably not a people in the world so well educated in Socialist theory and its practical application

William English Walling thus characterises them

> The Russian working people are for the most part able to read and write For many years the country has been in such a disturbed condition that they have had the advantage of leadership not only of intelligent individuals in their midst but of a large part of the equally revolutionary educated class who have turned to the working people with their ideas for the political and social regeneration of Russia

Many writers explain their hostility to the Soviet Gov ernment by arguing that the last phase of the Russian Revolution was simply a struggle of the respectable ele ments against the brutal attacks of Bolshevism However it was the propertied classes who when they realised the growth in power of the popular revolutionary organisa tions undertook to destroy them and to halt the Revolu tion To this end the propertied classes finally resorted to desperate measures In order to wreck the Kerensky Min istry and the Soviets transportation was disorganised and internal troubles provoked to crush the Factory Shop

search the records for the minutest details of the story of the Paris Commune so they will want to know what happened in Petrograd in November 1917 the spirit which animated the people and how the leaders looked talked and acted It is with this in view that I have written this book

In the struggle my sympathies were not neutral But in telling the story of those great days I have tried to see events with the eye of a conscientious reporter interested in setting down the truth

J R.

New York January 1st 1919

bourgeoisie did not need the moderate Socialists So it resulted in the Socialist Ministers being obliged to give way little by little on their entire program while the propertied classes grew more and more insistent

And at the end when the Bolsheviki upset the whole hollow compromise, the Mensheviki and Socialist Revolutionaries found themselves *fighting on the side of the* propertied classes In almost every country in the world to-day the same phenomenon is visible

Instead of being a destructive force it seems to me that the Bolsheviki were the only party in Russia with a constructive program and the power to impose it on the country If they had not succeeded to the Government when they did there is little doubt in my mind that the armies of Imperial Germany would have been in Petrograd and Moscow in December and Russia would again be ridden by a Tsar

It is still fashionable after a whole year of the Soviet Government to speak of the Bolshevik insurrection as an adventure Adventure it was and one of the most marvelous mankind ever embarked upon sweeping into history at the head of the toiling masses and staking everything on their vast and simple desires Already the machinery had been set up by which the land of the great estates could be distributed among the peasants The Factory Shop Committees and the Trade Unions were there to put into operation workers control of industry In every village town city district and province there were Soviets of Workers Soldiers and Peasants Deputies prepared to assume the task of local administration

No matter what one thinks of Bolshevism it is undeniable that the Russian Revolution is one of the great events of human history and the rise of the Bolsheviki a phenomenon of world wide importance Just as historians

out reachin, any particular prior level of capitalist or bour geois political and economic development The argument about ripeness" was lar ely a discu.sion among the Marxists and until Russia entered the war Lenin tended to repeat the Russian Marxist dogma that Russia was neither economically nor politically nor culturally ripe for anything but a bour geois revolution Traces of this dogma and of his wrestling with it remain in his writings to the end —*Ed*

EDITOR'S NOTES
TO PREFACE

1 When the Tsarist archives and the diaries and letters of the Tsar the Tsaritsa and the members of the Royal Household were published after 1917 the widely held view of treason at court was proved false and the deliberate undertaking to wreck Russia even more so Not a gigantic campaign of sabotage but the ineptness of key officials distrust at court of public initiative from below and the inadequacy of the political and economic structure for the strains of total war caused the growing tension and breakdown —*Ed*

2 Lenin never used the name *Nicholas* He signed many pseudonyms in the course of his long battle with the police and among them was *N Lenin* and sometimes *N N* But *N* in Russia and in many other European lands is a common sign that the name used is a pseudonym as if to say *Not Lenin* When Lenin seized power it occurred to some journalist to say that there was a new Nicholas on the throne in place of Nicholas II and the legend took hold —*Ed*

3 Elaborate investigations first under the Provisional Government and then under Lenin yielded no evidence that military defeat was connived at The demand of the officers for the restoration of the death penalty was aimed at desertion and indiscipline under fire but conditions at the front and in the rear too were such that the provision remained a dead letter The death penalty was again revoked by the Provisional Government shortly before its fall —*Ed*

4 Reed is mistaken as to the Socialist Revolutionaries They put much more emphasis on a social revolution particularly the redistribution of the land than on political forms and historically their party diverged from the Marxists in their belief that Russia could go directly to socialism with

out reachin, any particular prior level of capitalist or bour geois political and economic development The argument about ripeness was largely a discussion among the Marxists and until Russia entered the war Lenin tended to repeat the Russian Marxist dogma that Russia was neither economically nor politically nor culturally ripe for anything but a bour geois revolution Traces of this dogma and of his wrestling with it remain in his writings to the end —Ed

NOTES AND

EXPLANATIONS

To the average reader the multiplicity of Russian organisa tions—political groups, Committees and Central Com mittees Soviets Dumas and Unions—will prove extremely confusing For this reason I am giving here a few brief definitions and explanations

Political Parties

In the elections to the Constituent Assembly there were seventeen tickets in Petrograd and in some of the pro- vincial towns as many as forty but the following summary of the aims and composition of political parties is limited to the groups and factions mentioned in this book Only the essence of their programmes and the general character of their constituencies can be noticed

1 *Monarchists* of various shades *Octobrists* etc These once powerful factions no longer existed openly they either worked underground or their members joined the *Cadets* as the *Cadets* came by degrees to stand for their political programme Representatives in this book Rodzianko Shulgin

2 *Cadets* So-called from the initials of its name Con stitutional Democrats Its official name is Party of the People s Freedom Under the Tsar composed of Liberals from the propertied classes the *Cadets* were the great party of *political* reform roughly corresponding to the Progressive Party in America When the Revolution broke

out in March 1917 the *Cadets* formed the first Provisional Government The *Cadet* Ministry was overthrown in April because it declared itself in favour of Allied imperialistic aims including the imperialistic aims of the Tsar s Government As the Revolution became more and more a *social economic* Revolution the *Cadets* grew more and more conservative Its representatives in this book are Miliukov Vinaver Shatsky

2a *Group of Public Men* After the *Cadets* had become unpopular through their relations with the Kornilov counter r volution the *Group of Public Men* was formed in Moscow Delegates from the Group of *Public Men* were given portfolios in the last Kerensky Cabinet The *Group* declared itself non partisan although its intellectual leaders were men like Rodzianko and Shulgin It was composed of the more modern bankers merchants and manufacturers who were intelligent enough to realise that the Soviets must be fought by their own weapon—economic organisation Typical of the *Group* Lianozov Konovalov

3 *Populist Socialists* or *Trudoviki* (Labour Group) Numerically a small party composed of cautious intellectuals the leaders of th Cooperative societies and conservative peasants Professing to be Socialists *the Populists* really supported the interests of th petty bourgeoisie—clerks shopkeepers etc By direct descent inheritors of the compromising tradition of the Labour Group in the Fourth Imperial Duma which was composed largely of peasant representatives Kerensky was the leader of the *Trudoviki* in the Imperial Duma when the Revolution of March 1917 broke out. The *Populist Socialists* are a nationalistic party Their representatives in this book are Peshekhonov Chaikovsky

4 *Russian Social Democratic Labour Party* Originally Marxian Socialists At a party congress held in 1903 the

party split on the question of tactics into two factions—the Majority (Bolshinstvo) and the Minority (Menshinstvo). From this sprang the names Bolsheviki and Mensheviki — members of the majority and members of the minority. These two wings became two separate parties, both calling themselves Russian Social Democratic Labour Party, and both professing to be Marxians. Since the Revolution of 1905 the Bolsheviki were really the minority, becoming again the majority in September 1917.

a. *Mensheviki*. This party includes all shades of Socialists who believe that society must progress by natural evolution toward Socialism, and that the working class must conquer political power first. Also a nationalistic party.* This was the party of the Socialist intellectuals, which means: all the means of education having been in the hands of the propertied classes, the intellectuals instinctively reacted to their training, and took the side of the propertied classes. Among their representatives in this book are Dan, Lieber, Tseretelli.

b. *Mensheviki Internationalists*. The radical wing of the *Mensheviki*, internationalists and opposed to all coalition with the propertied classes, yet unwilling to break loose from the conservative Mensheviki, and opposed to the dictatorship of the working class advocated by the Bolsheviki. Trotsky was long a member of this group. Among their leaders, Martov, Martynov.

c. *Bolsheviki*. Now call themselves the *Communist Party*, in order to emphasise their complete separation from the tradition of "moderate" or "parliamentary" Socialism which dominates the Mensheviki and the so-

* Like the socialist parties generally the Mensheviki were "internationalists". During the war and especially after the downfall of the Tsar their majority became defensists [illegible] of the defense (Russia). That is probably what Reed means by the word "also a nationalistic party". —*Ed*

called Majority Socialists in all countries The *Bolsheviki* proposed immediate proletarian insurrection and seizure of the reins of Government in order to hasten the coming of Socialism by forcibly taking over industry land natural resources and financial institutions This party expresses the desires chiefly of the factory workers but also of a large section of the poor peasants The name Bolshevik can *not* be translated by Maximalist The Maximalists are a separate group (See paragraph 5b) Among the leaders Lenin Trotsky Lunacharsky

d *United Social Democrats Internationalists* Also called the *Novaya Zhizn* (New Life) group from the name of the very influential newspaper which was its organ A little group of intellectuals with a very small following among the working-class except the personal following of Maxim Gorky its leader Intellectuals with almost the same programme as the *Mensheviki Internationalists* except that the *Novaya Zhizn* group refused to be tied to either of the two great factions Opposed the Bolshevik tactics but remained in the Soviet Government. Other representatives in this book Avilov Kramarov

e *Yedinstvo* A very small and dwindling group composed almost entirely of the personal following of Plekhanov one of the pioneers of the Russian Social Democratic movement in the 80 s and its greatest theoretician Now an old man Plekhanov was extremely patriotic too conservative even for the Mensheviki After the Bolshevik *coup d'etat Yedinstvo* disappeared

5 *Socialist Revolutionary party* Called *Essaires* from the initials of their name Originally the revolutionary party of the peasants the party of the Fighting Organisations—the Terrorists After the March Revolution it was joined by many who had never been Socialists At that time it stood for the abolition of private property in land

only the owners to be compensated in some fashion.* Finally the increasing revolutionary feeling of peasants forced the *Essaires* to abandon the compensation clause and led to the younger and more fiery intellectuals breaking off from the main party in the fall of 1917 and forming a new party, the *Left Socialist Revolutionary party*. The *Essaires*, who were afterward always called by the radical groups "*Right Socialist Revolutionaries*," adopted the political attitude of the Mensheviki, and worked together with them. They finally came to represent the wealthier peasants, the intellectuals, and the politically uneducated populations of remote rural districts. Among them there was, however, a wider difference of shades of political and economic opinion than among the *Mensheviki*. Among their leaders mentioned in these pages: Avksentiev, Gotz, Kerensky, Chernov, "Babushka" Breshkovskaya.

a. *Left Socialist Revolutionaries*. Although theoretically sharing the Bolshevik programme of dictatorship of the working class, at first were reluctant to follow the ruthless Bolshevik tactics. However, the *Left Socialist Revolutionaries* remained in the Soviet Government, sharing the Cabinet portfolios, especially that of Agriculture. They withdrew from the Government several times, but always returned. As the peasants left the ranks of the *Essaires* in increasing numbers, they joined the *Left Socialist Revolutionary party*, which became the great peasant party supporting the Soviet Government, standing for confiscation without compensation of the great landed estates, and

* No faction of the Socialist Revolutionary Party was in favor of compensating the landowners. In fact no socialist party favored compensation. Only the *Cadets (Liberal Democrats)*, who also favored an expropriation of the landowners, and added the words "with just compensation." The very decree which Lenin finally promulgated concerning the land was taken from the program of the Socialist Revolutionary Party, as he acknowledged on November 8 in presenting it to the Second Congress of Soviets the day after he had seized power.—*Ed.*

their disposition by the peasants themselves Among the leaders Spiridonova Karelin Kamkov Kalagayev

b *Maximalists* An off shoot of the *Socialist Revolutionary party* in the Revolution of 1905 when it was a powerful peasant movement demanding the immediate application of the maximum Socialist programme Now an insignificant group of peasant anarchists

Parliamentary Procedure

Russian meetings and conventions are organised after the continental model rather than our own The first action is usually the election of officers and the *presidium*

The *presidium* is a presiding committee composed of representatives of the groups and political factions represented in the assembly in proportion to their numbers. The *presidium* arranges the Order of Business and its members can be called upon by the President to take the chair *pro tem*

Each question (*vopros*) is stated in a general way and then debated and at the close of the debate resolutions are submitted by the different factions and each one voted on separately The Order of Business can be and usually is smashed to pieces in the first half hour On the plea of emergency which the crowd almost always grants anybody from the floor can get up and say anything on any subject The crowd controls the meeting practically the only functions of the speaker being to keep order by ringing a little bell and to recognise speakers Almost all the real work of the session is done in caucuses of the different groups and political factions which almost always cast their votes in a body and are represented by floor leaders The result is however that at every important new point, or vote the session takes a recess to enable the different groups and political factions to hold a caucus

The crowd is extremely noisy, cheering or heckling speakers overriding the plans of the *presidium* Among the customary cries are *Prosim!* Please! Go on! *Pravilno!* or *Eto vierno!* That's true! Right! *Dovolno!* Enough! *Doloi!* Down with him!'' *Pozor!* Shame! and *Teeshe!* Silence! Not so noisy!''

Popular Organizations

1 *Soviet* The word *soviet* means council Under the Tsar the Imperial Council of State was called *Gosudarstvennyi Soviet* Since the Revolution however the term *Soviet* has come to be associated with a certain type of parliament elected by members of working class economic organisations—the Soviet of Workers of Soldiers or of Peasants Deputies I have therefore limited the word to these bodies and wherever else it occurs I have translated it Council

Besides the local *Soviets* elected in every city town and village of Russia—and in large cities also Ward (*Raionny*) *Soviets*—there are also the *oblastnoi or gubiernsky* (district or provincial) *Soviets* and the Central Executive Committee of the All Russian *Soviets* in the capital called from its initials *Tsay ee kah* * (See below Central Committees)

Almost everywhere the *Soviets* of Workers and of Soldiers Deputies combined very soon after the March Revolution In special matters concerning their peculiar interests however the Workers and the Soldiers Sections continued to meet separately The *Soviets* of Peasants Deputies did not join the other two until after the

* The Ru s ans d d not all th Central E cut ve *Committee of th* Soviets *Tsay-ee kah* but *T ik* nd fte the first nation l So iet Cong ess w s held and an all Russian Central Ex cuti e f rmed th y alled it VT k However since Reed has used *Tsay-ee k h* consist ntly throughout it has be n left so —*Ed*

Bolshevik *coup d etat* They too were organised like the workers and soldiers with an Executive Committee of the All Russian Peasants *Soviets* in the capital

2 *Trade Unions* Although mostly industrial in form the Russian labour unions were still called Trade Unions * and at the time of the Bolshevik Revolution had from three to four million members These Unions were also organised in an All Russian body a sort of Russian Federation of Labour which had its Central Executive Committee in the capital

3 *Factory Shop Committees* These were spontaneous organisations created in the factories by the workers in their attempt to control industry taking advanta e of the administrative break-down incident upon the Revolution. Their function was by revolutionary action to take over and run the factories The *Factory Shop Committees* also had their All Russian organisation with a Central Committee at Petrograd which co-operated with the Trade Unions **

4 *Dumas* The word *duma* means roughly delibera tive body The old Imperial Duma which persisted six months after the Revolution in a democratised form died a natural death in September 1917 The *City Duma* re ferred to in this book was the reorganised Municipal Coun cil often called Municipal Self Government" It was elected by direct and secret ballot and its only reason for failure to hold the masses during the Bolshevik Revolu

Th R ssian nions we ot called Trad U but P ofess nal Union f h rt, P f ov y Th w bec se h first p bl ns f rm d th 1905 pe od w nion f profess on l me p f sor doct s, lawyers, nd th l bo nions dopt d th sam m —*Ed*

Fact ry Sh p Comm t es er set p B lshe k in t ffset h akne of he B l hev k in th g nized labo m emen A Bol h vism beg g gth in om unions in the m of 1917 h y neglect d h k of sett g p l u ing all R ssi Sh p Comm ttee org niz tio Th Sh p Comm tt es d d not rule cooperat w h th unions but w t used t bypass pl th m —*Ed*

tion was the general decline in influence of all purely *political* representation in the face of the growing power of organisations based on *economic* groups

5 *Zemstvos* May be roughly translated county councils Under the Tsar semi political semi social bodies with very little administrative power, developed and controlled largely by intellectual Liberals among the land owning classes Their most important function was education and social service among the peasants During the *war the Zemstvos gradually took over the entire feeding* and clothing of the Russian Army as well as the buying from foreign countries and work among the soldiers generally corresponding to the work of the American Y M C A at the Front * After the March Revolution the *Zemstvos* were democratized with a view to making them the organs of local government in the rural districts But like the *City Dumas* they could not compete with the *Soviets*

6 *Cooperatives* These were the workers and peasants Consumers Cooperative societies which had several million members all over Russia before the Revolution Founded by Liberals and moderate Socialists the Co-operative movement was not supported by the revolutionary Socialist groups because it was a substitute for the complete transference of means of production and distribution into the hands of the workers After the March Revolution the *Cooperatives* spread rapidly and were dominated by Populist Socialists Mensheviki and Socialist Revolutionaries and acted as a conservative political force until the Bolshevik Revolution However it was the *Cooperatives* which fed Russia when the old structure of commerce and transportation collapsed

* The Zemstvos and other public committees supplemented but did not take over the work of feeding and clothing the Russian Army nor that of getting its equipment abroad —*Ed*

7 *Army Committees* The *Army Committees* were formed by the soldiers at the front to combat the reactionary influence of the old regime officers Every company regiment brigade division and corps had its committee over all of which was elected the *Army Committee* The *Central Army Committee* cooperated with the General Staff The administrative break-down in the army incident upon the Revolution threw upon the shoulders of the *Army Committees* most of the work of the Quartermaster s Department and in some cases even the command of troops

8 *Fleet Committees* The corresponding organisations in the Navy

Central Committees

In the spring and summer of 1917 All Russian convention of every sort of organisation were held at Petrograd There were national congresses of Workers Soldiers and Peasants Soviets Trade Unions Factory Shop Committees Army and Fleet Committees—besides every branch of the military and naval service Cooperatives Nationalities etc Each of these conventions elected a Central Committee or a Central Executive Committee to guard its particular interests at the seat of Government As the Provisional Government grew weaker the e Central Committees were forced to assume more and more administrative powers

The most important Central Committees mentioned in this book are

Union of Unions During the Revolution of 1905 Professor Miliukov and other Liberals established unions of professional men—doctors lawyers physicians etc These were united under one central organisation the *Union of Unions* In 1905 the *Union of Unions* acted with the revo-

lutionary democracy in 1917, however, the *Union of Unions* opposed the Bolshevik uprising and united the Government employees who went on strike against the authority of the Soviets

Tsay ee kah All Russian Central Executive Committee of the Soviets of Workers and Soldiers Deputies So called from the initials of its name

Tsentroflot Centre Fleet —the Central Fleet Committee

Vikzhel All Russian Central Committee of the Railway Workers Union So called from the initials of its name

Other Organizations

Red Guards The armed factory workers of Russia The *Red Guards* were first formed during the Revolution of 1905 and sprang into existence again in the days of March 1917 when a force was needed to keep order in the city At that time they were armed and all efforts of the Provisional Government to disarm them were more or less unsuccessful At every great crisis in the Revolution the *Red Guards* appeared on the streets untrained and undisciplined but full of Revolutionary zeal

White Guards Bourgeois volunteers who emerged in the last stages of the Revolution to defend private property from the Bolshevik attempt to abolish it A great many of them were University students

Tekhintsi The so-called Savage Division in the army made up of Mohametan tribesmen from Central Asia and personally devoted to General Kornilov The *Tekhintsi* were noted for their blind obedience and their savage cruelty in warfare *

* The *Tekhintsi* and the Savage Division were not identical although both were from the Caucasus and both under the direct command of General Kornilov Although Reed uses them interchangeably in his work it has not been necessary to determine which he meant in each case as the general picture is not altered by substituting the one for the other —*Ed*

Death Battalions Or *Shock Battalions* The Women s Battal on is known to the world as the *Death Battalion* but there were many *Death Battalions* composed of men These were formed in the summer of 1917 by Kerensky for the purpose of strengthening the discipline and combative fire of the army by heroic example The *Death Battalions* were composed mostly of intense young patriots These came fo the most part from among the sons of the p opertied classes

Union of Officers An organisation formed among the reactionary officers in the army to combat politically the growin power of the Army Committees

Knights of St George The Cross of St George was award d for distinguished action in battle Its holder automatically became a *Knight of St George* The predominant influence in the organisation was that of the supporters of the military idea

Peasants Union In 1905 the *Peasants Union* was a revolutionary peasants organisation In 1917 however it had become the political expres ion of the more prosperous peasants to fi ht the growing power and revolutionary aims of the Soviets of Peasants Deputies *

Chronology and Spelling

I have adopted in this book our Calendar throughout instead of the former Russian Calendar which was thirteen days earlier

* Th P asant U ons were set up i th 1905 pe d by Soci list R o lut na ies th popul mas orga zat on f th pe sa d th l g La d th gh F eedom F eedom th ough L nd Th y w l te pp ess d d d h 1905-07 urm il cam t d Wh a tt mpt w m d evi th m in 1917 by rural mod rates the Soc alist Rev l io ry P rty set p P t Soviet whi h lly ed ced the new P asa t U on t ulity Th Peasant Sov et mai d th nd p ted doma n f th Social st Re luti ry Party until it d th P asant So t Congr ss itself w re plit with Bolsh vik encouragement aft Lenin took pow —*Ed*

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND

Toward the end of September 1917 an alien Professor of Sociology visiting Russia came to see me in Petrograd He had been informed by business men and intellectuals that the Revolution was slowing down The Professor wrote an article about it and then travelled around the country visiting factory towns and peasant communities—where to his astonishment the Revolution seemed to be speeding up Among the wage-earners and the land working people it was common to hear talk of all land to the peasants all factories to the workers If the Professor had visited the front he would have heard the whole Army talking Peace

The Professor was puzzled but he need not have been both observations were correct The property owning classes were becoming more conservative the masses of the people more radical

There was a feeling among business men and the *intelligentsia* generally that the Revolution had gone quite far enough and lasted too long that things should settle down. This sentiment was shared by the dominant moderate Socialist groups the *oborontsi*[1] Mensheviki and Socialist Revolutionaries who supported the Provisional Government of Kerensky

Foot ot ref rences will be fou d in "Notes t end of each hapte

Land and Workers Control of Industry The Constituent Assembly had been postponed and postponed—would probably be postponed again until the people were calm enough—perhaps to modify their demands! At any rate here were eight months of the Revolution gone and little enough to show for it

Meanwhile the soldiers began to solve the peace question by simply deserting the peasants burned manor houses and took over the great estates the workers sabotaged and struck Of course as was natural the manufacturers land-owners and army officers exerted all their influence against any democratic compromise

The policy of the Provisional Government alternated between ineffective reforms and stern repressive measures An edict from the Socialist Minister of Labour ordered all the Workers Committees henceforth to meet only after working hours Among the troops at the front agitators of opposition political parties were arrested radical newspapers closed down and capital punishment applied—to revolutionary propagandists [8] Attempts were made to disarm the Red Guard Cossacks were sent to keep order in the provinces

These measures were supported by the "moderate Socialists and their leaders in the Ministry who considered it necessary to cooperate with the propertied classes The people rapidly deserted them and went over to the Bolsheviki who stood for Peace Land and Workers Control of Industry and a Government of the working-class In September 1917 matters reached a crisis Against the overwhelming sentiment of the country Kerensky and the moderate Socialists succeeded in establishing a Government of Coalition with the propertied classes and as a result the Mensheviki and Socialist Revolutionaries lost the confidence of the people forever

by his shameless political blackmail on behalf of the bour geoisie

The direct result of all this was the rise of the Bolshe viki

Since March 1917 when the roarin, torrents of work men and soldiers beating upon the Tauride Palace com pelled the reluctant Imperial Duma to assume the supreme power in Russia it was the masses of the people workers soldiers and peasants which forced every change in the course of the Revolution They hurled the Miliukov Minis try down it was their Soviet which proclaimed to the world the Russian peace terms— No annexations no indemni ties and the right of self determination of peoples and again in July it was the spontaneous rising of the un organised proletariat which once more stormed the Tauride Palace to demand that the Soviets take over the Govern ment of Russia

The Bolsheviki then a small political sect put them selves at the head of the movement As a result of the disastrous failure of the rising public opinion turned a,ain t them and their leaderless hordes slunk back into the Vyborg Quarter which is Petrograds *St Antoine* Then followed a savage hunt of the Bolsheviki hundreds were imprisoned among them Trotsky Madame Kollontai and Kamenev Lenin and Zinoviev went into hiding fugi tives from justice the Bolshevik papers were suppressed Provocators and reactionaries raised the cry that the Bol sheviki were German agents until people all over the world believed it.

But the Provisional Government found itself unable to substantiate its accusations the documents proving pro-German conspiracy were discovered to be forgeries * and

P rt f the famous Sisson Docum t

one by one the Bolsheviki were released from prison without trial on nominal or no bail—until only six remained. The impotence and indecision of the ever changing Provisional Government was an argument nobody could refute. The Bolsheviki raised again the slogan so dear to the masses All Power to the Soviets' —and they were not merely self seeking for at that time the majority of the Soviets was moderate Socialist their bitter enemy

But more potent still they took the crude simple desires of the workers soldiers and peasants and from them built their immediate programme And so while the *oborontsi* Mensheviki and Socialist Revolutionaries involved themselves in compromise with the bourgeoisie, the Bolsheviki rapidly captured the Russian masses In July they were hunted and despised by September the metropolitan workmen the sailors of the Baltic Fleet and the soldiers had been won almost entirely to their cause The September municipal elections in the large cities[5] were significant only 18 per cent of the returns were Menshevik and Socialist Revolutionary against more than 70 per cent in June

There remains a phenomenon which puzzled foreign observers the fact that the Central Executive Committees of the Soviets the Central Army and Fleet Committees * and the Central Committees of some of the Unions—notably the Post and Telegraph Workers and the Railway Workers—opposed the Bolsheviki with the utmost violence These Central Committees had all been elected in the middle of the summer or even before when the Mensheviki and Socialist Revolutionaries had an enormous following and they delayed or prevented any new elections Thus according to the constitution of the Soviets of Workers and Soldiers Deputies the All Russian Congress *should have been called in September* but the *Tsay-ee*

See Notes and Explanations

*kah** would not call the meeting on the ground that the Constituent Assembly was only two months away at which time they hinted the Soviets would abdicate Mean while one by one the Bolsheviki were winning in the local Soviets all over the country in the Union branches and the ranks of the soldiers and sailors The Peasants Soviets remained still conservative because in the sluggish rural districts political consciousness developed slowly and the Socialist Revolutionary party had been for a generation the party which had agitated among the peasants But even among the peasants a revolutionary wing was forming It showed itself clearly in October when the left wing of the Socialist Revolutionaries split off and formed a new political faction the Left Socialist Revolutionaries

At the same time there were signs everywhere that the forces of reaction were gaining confidence[*] At the Troitsky Farce theatre in Petrograd for example a burlesque called *Sins of the Tsar* was interrupted by a group of Monarchists who threatened to lynch the actors for insulting the Emperor Certain newspapers began to sigh for a Russian Napoleon It was the usual thing among bourgeois *intelligentsia* to refer to the Soviets of Workers Deputies (Rabotchikh Deputatov) as *Sobatchikh* Deputatov—Dogs Deputies

On October 15th I had a conversation with a great Russian capitalist Stepan Georgevitch Lianozov known as the Russian Rockefeller —a Cadet by political faith

Revolution he said is a sickness Sooner or later the foreign powers must intervene here—as one would intervene to cure a sick child and teach it how to walk Of course it would be more or less improper but the nations must realise the danger of Bolshevism in their own coun

* See N[illegible] and E[illegible]

me that the break-down of the country's economic life was part of a campaign to discredit the Revolution. An Allied diplomat, whose name I promised not to mention, confirmed this from his own knowledge. I know of certain coal mines near Kharkov which were fired and flooded by their owners, of textile factories at Moscow whose engineers put the machinery out of order when they left, of railroad officials caught by the workers in the act of crippling locomotives.

A large section of the propertied classes preferred the Germans to the Revolution—even to the Provisional Government—and didn't hesitate to say so. In the Russian household where I lived, the subject of conversation at the dinner table was almost invariably the coming of the Germans, bringing "law and order." . . . One evening I spent at the house of a Moscow merchant; during tea we asked the eleven people at the table whether they preferred Wilhelm or the Bolsheviki. The vote was ten to one for Wilhelm. . . .

The speculators took advantage of the universal disorganisation to pile up fortunes, and to spend them in fantastic revelry or the corruption of Government officials. Foodstuffs and fuel were hoarded, or secretly sent out of the country to Sweden.* In the first four months of the Revolution, for example, the reserve food supplies were almost openly looted from the great Municipal warehouses of Petrograd, until the two years' provision of grain had fallen to less than enough to feed the city for one month. . . . According to the official report of the last Minister of Supplies in the Provisional Government, coffee was bought wholesale in Vladivostok for two rubles a pound, and the consumer in Petrograd paid thirteen. In

*There is no evidence to support this inherently absurd charge that food-stuffs were sent to Sweden.—Ed.

all the stores of the large cities were tons of food and clothing but only the rich could buy them

In a provincial town I knew a merchant family turned speculator—*marodior* (bandit ghoul) the Russians call it The three sons had bribed their way out of military service One gambled in foodstuffs Another sold illegal gold from the Lena mines to mysterious parties in Finland The third owned a controlling interest in a chocolate factory which supplied the local Cooperative societies—on condition that the Cooperatives furnished him everything he needed And so while the masses of the people got a quarter pound of black bread on their bread cards he had an abundance of white bread sugar tea candy cake and butter Yet when the soldiers at the front could no longer fight from cold hunger and exhaustion how indignantly did this family scream Cowards! —how ashamed they were to be Russians When finally the Bolsheviki found and requisitioned vast hoarded stores of provisions what Robbers they were

Beneath all this external rottenness moved the old time Dark Forces unchanged since the fall of Nicholas the Second secret still and very active The agents of the notorious *Okhrana* still functioned for and against the Tsar for and against Kerensky—whoever would pay In the darkness underground organisations of all sorts such as the Black Hundreds were busy attempting to restore reaction in some form or other

In this atmosphere of corruption of monstrous half truths one clear note sounded day after day the deepening chorus of the Bolsheviki All Power to the Soviets! All power to the direct representatives of millions on millions of common workers soldiers peasants Land bread an end to the senseless war an end to secret diplomacy

speculation treachery The Revolution is in danger and with it the cause of the people all over the world!

The struggle between the proletariat and the middle class between the Soviets and the Government which had begun in the first March days was about to culminate Having at one bound leaped from the Middle Ages into the twentieth century Russia showed the startled world two systems of Revolution—the political and the social—in mortal combat

What a revelation of the vitality of the Russian Revolution after all these months of starvation and disillusionment! The bourgeoisie should have better known its Russia Not for a long time in Russia will the sickness of Revolution have run its course

Looking back Russia before the November insurrection seems of another age almost incredibly conservative So quickly did we adapt ourselves to the newer swifter life just as Russian politics swung bodily to the Left—until the Cadets were outlawed as enemies of the people Kerensky became a counter revolutionist, the middle Socialist leaders Tseretelli Dan Lieber Gotz and Avksentiev were too reactionary for their following and men like Victor Chernov and even Maxim Gorky belonged to the Right Wing

About the middle of December 1917 a group of Socialist Revolutionary leaders paid a private visit to Sir George Buchanan the British Ambassador and implored him not to mention the fact that they had been there because they were considered too far Right

"And to think said Sir George One year ago my Government instructed me not to receive Miliukov because he was so dangerously Left!

September and October are the worst months of the Russian year—especially the Petrograd year Under dull grey skies, in the shortening days the rain fell drenchin incessant The mud underfoot was deep slippery and clinging tracked everywhere by heavy boots and worse than usual because of the complete break down of the Municipal administration Bitter damp winds rushed in from the Gulf of Finland and the chill fog rolled through the streets At night for motives of economy as well as fear of Zeppelins the street lights were few and far be tween in private dwellings and apartment houses the electricity was turned on from six o clock until midnight with candles forty cents apiece and little kerosene to be had It was dark from three in the afternoon to ten in the morning Robberies and housebreakings increased In apartment houses the men took turns at all night guard duty armed with loaded rifles This was under the Provisional Government

Week by week food became scarcer The daily allowance of bread fell from a pound and a half to a pound then three quarters half and a quarter pound Toward the end there was a week without any bread at all Sugar one was entitled to at the rate of two pounds a month—if one could get it at all which was seldom A bar of chocolate or a pound of tasteless candy cost anywhere from seven to ten rubles—at least a dollar There was milk for about half the babies in the city most hotels and private houses never saw it for months In the fruit season apples and pears sold for a little less than a ruble apiece on the street corner

For milk and bread and sugar and tobacco one had to stand in *queue* long hours in the chill rain Coming home from an all night meeting I have seen the *khvost* (tail) beginning to form before dawn mostly women some with

babies in their arms Carlyle in his *French Revolution* has described the French people as distinguished above all others by their faculty of standing in *queue* Russia had accustomed herself to the practice begun in the reign of Nicholas the Blessed as long ago as 1915 and from then continued intermittently until the summer of 1917 when it settled down as the regular order of things Think of the poorly-clad people standing on the iron white streets of Petrograd whole days in the Russian winter! I have listened in the bread lines hearing the bitter acrid note of discontent which from time to time burst up through the miraculous goodnature of the Russian crowd

Of course all the theatres were going every night, including Sundays Karsavina appeared in a new Ballet at the Marinsky all dance loving Russia coming to see her Shaliapin was singing At the Alexandrinsky they were reviving Meyerhold s production of Tolstoy's "Death of Ivan the Terrible and at that performance I remember noticing a student of the Imperial School of Pages in his dress uniform who stood up correctly between the acts and faced the empty Imperial box with its eagles all erased

The *Krivoye Zerkalo* staged a sumptuous version of Schnitzler s Reigen

Although the Hermitage and other picture gall ries had been evacuated to Moscow there were weekly exhibitions of paintings Hordes of the female *intelligentsia* went to hear lectures on Art Literature and the Easy Philosophies It was a particularly active season for Theosophists And the Salvation Army admitted to Russia for the first time in history plastered the walls with announcements of go pel meetings which amused and astounded Russian audiences

As in all such times the petty conventional life of th

city went on ignoring the Revolution as much as possible The poets made verses—but not about the Revolution The realistic painters painted scenes from mediæval Russian history—anything but the Revolution Young ladies from the provinces came up to the capital to learn French and cultivate their voices and the gay young beautiful officers wore their gold trimmed crimson *bashlyki** and their elaborate Caucasian swords around the hotel lobbies The ladies of the minor bureaucratic set took tea with each other in the afternoon carrying each her little gold or silver or jewelled sugar box and half a loaf of bread in her muff and wished that the Tsar were back or that the Germans would come or anything that would solve *the servant problem* *The daughter of a friend of* mine came home one afternoon in hysterics because the woman street car conductor had called her Comrade!

All around them great Russia was in travail bearing a new world The servants one used to treat like animals and pay next to nothing were getting independent A pair of shoes cost more than a hundred rubles and as wages averaged about thirty five rubles a month the servants refused to stand in *queue* and wear out their shoes But more than that In the new Russia every man and woman could vote there were working class newspapers saying new and startling things there were the Soviets and there were the Unions The *izvoshchiki* (cab drivers) had a Union they were also represented in the Petrograd Soviet The waiters and hotel servants were organised and refused tips On the walls of restaurants they put up signs which read No tips taken here— or Just because a man has to make his living waiting on table is no reason to insult him by offering him a tip!

At the Front the soldiers fought out their fight with the

A *ba hlyk* is a Ca casia hood —*Ed*

officers and learned self government through their committees In the factories those unique Russian organisations the Factory Shop Committees * gained experience and strength and a realisation of their historical mission by combat with the old order All Russia was learning to read and *reading*—politics economics history—because the people wanted to *know* In every city in most towns along the Front each political faction had its newspaper—sometimes several Hundreds of thousands of pamphlets were distributed by thousands of organisations and poured into the armies the villages the factories the streets The thirst for education so long thwarted burst with the Revolution into a frenzy of expression From Smolny Institute alone the first six months went out every day tons car loads train loads of literature saturating the land Russia absorbed reading matter like hot sand drinks water insatiable And it was not fables falsified history diluted religion and the cheap fiction that corrupts—but social and economic theories philosophy the works of Tolstoy Gogol, and Gorky

Then the Talk beside which Carlyle s flood of French speech was a mere trickle Lectures debates speeches—in theatres circuses school houses clubs Soviet meeting rooms Union headquarters barracks Meetings in the trenches at the Front, in village squares factories What a marvelous sight to see Putilovsky Zavod (the Putilov factory) pour out its forty thousand to listen to Social Democrats Socialist Revolutionaries Anarchists anybody whatever they had to say as long as they would talk! For months in Petrograd and all over Russia every street corner was a public tribune In railway trains street-cars always the spurting up of impromptu debate everywhere

* See Notes and Explanations.

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* See Notes and Expl tions.

And the All Russian Conferences and Congresses drawing together the men of two continents—conventions of Soviets of Cooperatives Zemstvos * nationalities priests peasants political parties the Democratic Conference the Moscow Conference the Council of the Russian Republic There were always three or four conventions going on in Petrograd At every meeting, attempts to limit the time of speakers voted down and every man free to express the thought that was in him

We came down to the front of the Twelfth Army back of Riga where gaunt and bootless men sickened in the mud of desperate trenches and when they saw us they started up with their pinched faces and the flesh showing blue through their torn clothing demanding eagerly Did you bring anything to *read*?

What though the outward and visible signs of change were many what though the statue of Catharine the Great before the Alexandrinsky Theatre bore a little red flag in its hand and others—somewhat faded—floated from all public buildings and the Imperial monograms and eagles were either torn down or covered up and in place of the fierce *gorodovoye* (city police) a mild mannered and unarmed citizen militia** patrolled the streets—still there were many quaint anachronisms

For example Peter the Great s *Tabel o Rangov*—Table of Ranks—which he rivetted upon Russia with an iron hand still held sway Almost everybody from the schoolboy up wore his prescribed uniform, with the insignia of the Emperor on button and shoulder strap Along about five o clock in the afternoon the streets were full of sub

* See N tes and Expla ations

** The mil t a carri d s d arms which Reed does not seem to ha e noticed t l l te —*Ed*

dued old gentlemen in uniform with portfolios going home from work in the huge barrack like Ministries or Government institutions calculating perhaps how great a mortality among their superiors would advance them to the coveted *chin* (rank) of Collegiate Assessor or Privy Councillor with the prospect of retirement on a comfortable pension and possibly the Cross of St. Anne

There is the story of Senator Sokolov who in full tide of Revolution came to a meeting of the Senate one day in civilian clothes and was not admitted because he did not wear the prescribed livery of the Tsar s service!

It was against this background of a whole nation in ferment and disintegration that the pageant of the Rising of the Russian Masses unrolled

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1

Obo ontsi—"Defenders All the moderate Socialist groups adopted or were given this name because they consented to the continuat on of the war under Allied leadership on the ground that it was a war of National Defence The Bolshev ki the Left Socialist Revolutionaries the Mensheviki Internationalists (Martov s faction) and the Soc al Democrats Internationalists (Gorky s group) we e in favour of forcing the Allies to declare democratic war aims and to offer peace to Germany on those terms

2 Wages and Cost of Li i g Before nd During the Revolution

The follow ng tables of wages and costs were compiled in October 1917 by a joint Committee from the Moscow Chamber of Commerce and the Moscow section of the Ministry of Labour and published in *No ay Zhi n* October 6th, 1917

C st f Oth N sti s—(R bl and k p k)

		A gust 1914	*A gust 1917*	*" I ase*
Cal o	(*A hl*)	11	1 40	1173
Cot on Cloth		15	2.	I 33
Dr Good		2.	40	1900
C stor Cloth		6	80	1,33
M Shoes	(P)	12.	144	1097
S 1 Leather		20	400	1900
R bb rs	(P)	2.50	15	500
M Clothing	(S 1)	40	400 — 455	900 — 1105
T	(*F d*)	4.50	18	300
M h	(Cart)	10	.50	400
Soap	(*P od*)	4 50	40	780
Gas l ne	(*V d*)	1 0	11	547
Cand	(*Pood*)	8 50	100	1076
C am l	(*F nd*)	.30	4.50	1400
F Wood	(Lo d)	10	1.0	1100
Ch l		80	13	15 5
S nd y M tal Ware		1	70	1900

On an average the above categories of necessities increased bout 1 109 per cent in price more than twice the increase of l e The d ffer nce of course went into the pockets of specu lat s d merchants

In September 1917 when I arrived in Petrograd the a rage da ly wage of a skilled industrial worker—for example a steel worke in the Putilov Factory—was about 8 rubles At the same t me profits were enormous I was told by one of the own rs of the Thornton Woollen Mills an Engl sh c ncern on th out kirts of Petrograd that wh le wa es had increased about 300 per cent in his factory his profits had gone up *900 pe cent*

3 The Death Penalty

Th death penalty was officially re-establ shed on July 12 under the pressure of the high command, who wanted it as an instrument to t p mass desert ons and refusals to advance or hold a line under fire but the officers no lon er enjoyed the prestige and pow r to command a firin squad and the measure was not applied As Gener l Bruss lo put it "The officers from the Company Com m der to the Commander in-Chief have no power And General Klembovsky asked The death penalty? But s it possible to put to death whole divisions Particularly after the attempted *coup* of Kornilov the probl m was how to prevent sold ers from

Wages Per Day—(Rubles and kopeks)

Trade	*July 1914*	*July 1916*	*August 1917*
Carpenter Cabinet maker	1 60 — 2	4 — 6	8 50
Terrassier	1 30 — 1 50	3 — 3 50	
Mason plasterer	1 70 — 35	4 — 6	8
Painter upholsterer	1 80 — 2 20	3 — 5 50	8
Blacksmith	1 — 2 5	4 — 5	8 50
Chimney sweep	1 50 — 2	4 — 5.50	7 50
Locksmith	90 — 2	3 50 — 6	9
Helper	1 — 1 50	50 — 4 50	8

In spite of numerous stories of gigantic advances in wages immediately following the Revolution of March 1917 these figures which were published by the Ministry of Labour as characteristic of conditions all over Russia show that wages did not rise immediately after the Revolution but little by little On an average wages increased slightly more than 500 per cent

But at the same time the value of the ruble fell to less than one third its former purchasing power and the cost of the necessities of life increased enormously

The following table was compiled by the Municipal Duma of Moscow where food was cheaper and more plentiful than in Petrograd

Cost of Food—(Rubles and kopeks)

		August 1914	*August 1917*	*% Increase*
Black bread	*(Pound)*	02½	12	330
White bread		05	20	300
Beef		.2	1 10	400
Veal		26	2 15	727
Pork		23	2	770
Herring		06	52	767
Cheese		40	3 50	754
Butter		48	3 20	557
Eggs	(Doz)	30	1 60	443
Milk	*(Kruzhka)*	07	40	471

On an average food increased in price 566 per cent or 51 per cent more than wages

As for the other necessities the price of these increased tremendously

The following table was compiled by the Economic section of the Moscow Soviet of Workers Deputies and accepted as correct by the Ministry of Supplies of the Provisional Government.

and Nikitin became an accomplished fact. "—*Problems of the Re olut on*

5 September Municipal Elections in Moscow

In the first week of October 1917 *No oya Zhizn* published the following comparative table of election results pointing out that this meant the bankruptcy of the policy of Coalition with the propertied classes If civil war can yet be avoided it can only be done by a united front of all the revolutionary democracy

Elect ons for the Moscow Ce tral and Ward Dumas

	June 1917	*September 1917*
Soc alist Revolutionaries	58 Members	14 Members
Cadets	17 "	30 "
Mensheviki	12	4 "
Bolsheviki	11	47 "

6 G owing Arrogance of the Reactionaries

September 18th The Cadet Shulgin, writing in a Kiev newspaper said that the Provisional Government s declaration that Russ a was a Republic constituted a gross abuse of its powers We cannot admit either a Republic or the present Republican Govern ment. And we are not sure that we want a Republic in Russia.

October 23d At a meeting of the Cadet party held at Riazan M Dukhonin declared On M rch 1st we must e tablish a Constitutional Monarchy We must not reject the legitim te heir to the throne Mikhail Alexandrovitch

October 27th Resolution passed by the Conference of Business Men t Moscow

"The Conference insi ts that the Provisional Government take the following immediate measures in the Army

1 Forb dd ng of all political propa anda the Army must be o t of pol t cs.

"2 Propaganda of anti at onal and international ide s and theories deny the neces ty for armies and hurt d scipline it should be forb dd n and all propa and sts punished

3 The function of the Army Comm ttees must be limited to

shooting their officers rather than the reverse The Bolsheviks however used the mere existence of the death penalty as a powerful talking point in the army The day they took power while Lenin was busy in another room Kamenev introduced a formal resolution into the Soviet Congress for the abolition of the death penalty It passed unanimously but when Lenin heard of it he was furious 'This is madness he is reported by Trotsky to have said How can we accomplish a revolution without shooting?

Kamenev Trotsky continues tried to show that it was a question of the repeal of the death penalty that Kerensky had introduced especially for deserting soldiers but Lenin was not to be appeased (Trotsky *Lenin* New York 1925 pp 133 34) On November 11 Trotsky announced that the Military Revolutionary Committee was holding the Cadets (student officers) as hostages and would shoot five of them for every revolutionary worker or soldier shot" (Speech to the Petrograd Soviet November 11 1917) —*Ed*

4 The Socialist Ministers

The history of the efforts of the Socialists in the Provisional Government of July to realise their programme in coalition with the bourgeois Ministers is an illuminating example of class struggle in politics Says Lenin in explanation of this phenomenon

'The capitalists seeing that the position of the Government was untenable resorted to a method which since 1848 has been for decades practised by the capitalists in order to befog divide and finally overpower the working-class This method is the so-called Coalition Ministry composed of bourgeois and of renegades from the Socialist camp

In those countries where political freedom and democracy have existed side by side with the revolutionary movement of the workers—for example in England and France—the capitalists make use of this subterfuge and very successfully too The Socialist leaders upon entering the Ministries invariably prove mere figure heads puppets simply a shield for the capitalists a tool with which to defraud the workers The democratic and republican capitalists in Russia set in motion this very same scheme The Socialist Revolutionaries and Mensheviki fell victim to it and on June 1st a Coalition Ministry with the participation of Chernov Tseretelli Skobelev Avksentiev Savinkov Zarudny

CHAPTER II

THE COMING STORM

In September General Kornilov marched on Petrograd to make himself military dictator of Russia Behind him was suddenly revealed the mailed fist of the bourgeoisie boldly attempting to crush the Revolution Some of the Socialist Ministers were implicated even Kerensky was under suspicion Savinkov summoned to explain to the Central Committee of his party the Socialist Revolutionaries refused and was expelled Kornilov was arrested by the Soldiers Committees Generals were dismissed Ministers suspended from their functions and the Cabinet fell

Kerensky tried to form a new Government including the Cadets party of the bourgeoisie His party the Socialist Revolutionaries ordered him to exclude the Cadets Kerensky declined to obey and threatened to resign from the Cabinet if the Socialists insisted However popular feeling ran so high that for the moment he did not dare oppose it and a temporary Directorate of Five of the old Ministers with Kerensky at the head assumed the power until the question should be settled

The Kornilov affair drew together all the Socialist groups— moderates as well as revolutionists—in a passionate impulse of self defence There must be no more Kornilovs A new Government must be created responsible

economic questions exclusively All their decisions should be confirmed by their superior officers who have the right to dissolve the Committees at any time

4 The salute to be reestablished and made obligatory Full reestablishment of disciplinary power in the hands of officers with right of review of sentence

5 Expulsion from the Corps of Officers of those who dishonour it by participating in the movement of the soldier masses which teaches them disobedience Reestablishment for this purpose of the Courts of Honor

6 The Provisional Government should take the n c ssary meas ures to make possible the return to the army of Gen rals and other officers unjustly discharged under the influence of Committees and other irresponsible organisations

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Parliament without any legislative power called the Provisional Council of the Russian Republic In th new Ministry the propertied classes practically controlled and in the Council of the Russian Republic they occupied a disproportionate number of seats

The fact is that the *Tsay ee kah* no lon er represented the rank and file of the Soviets and had ille ally refused to call another All Russian Congress of Soviets due in September It had no intention of calling this Congress or of allowin it to be called Its official organ *I vestia* (News) be an to hint that the function of the Soviets was nearly at an end [3] and that they might soon be dis olved At this time too the new Government announced as part of its policy the liquidation of irresponsible organisations —i e the Soviets

The Bolsheviki responded by summoning the All Russian Soviets to meet at Petro rad on November 2 and take over the Government of Russia At the same time they withdrew from the Council of the Russian Republic stat in that they would not participate in a Government of Treason to the People " [4]

The withdrawal of the Bolsheviki however did not bring tranquillity to the ill fated Council The propertied classes now in a position of power became arro ant. The Cadets declared that the Government had no legal ri ht to declare Russia a republic They demanded stern measures in the Army and Navy to destroy the Soldiers and Sailors Committees and denounced the Soviets On the other side of the chamber the Mensheviki Internationalists and the Left Socialist Revolutionaries advocated immediate peace land to the peasants and workers control of industry—practically the Bolshevik programme

I heard Martov s speech in answer to the Cadets Stooped over the desk of the tribune like the mortally

then until October and now it was fixed for November 10th

The Provisional Government su gested two representa tives—General Alexeyev reactionary military man and Tereshchenko Minister of Foreign Affairs * The Soviets chose Skobelev to speak for them and drew up a mani festo the famous *naka⁊ˢ*—instructions The Provisional Government objected to Skobelev and his *naka* the Al lied ambassadors protested and finally Bonar Law in the British House of Commons in answer to a question re sponded coldly As far as I know the Paris Conference will not discuss the aims of the war at all but only the methods of conductin, it

At this the conservative Russian press was jubilant and the Bolsheviki cried See where the compromising tactics of the Mensheviki and Socialist Revolutionaries have led them!

Alon, a thousand miles of front the millions of men in Russia s armies stirred like the sea rising pouring into the capital their hundreds upon hundreds of delegations crying Peace! Peace!

I went across the river to the Cirque Moderne to one of the great popular meetin,s which occurred all over the city more numerous night after ni,ht The bare gloomy amphitheatre lit by five tiny li,hts hangin, from a thin wire was packed from the rin, up the steep sweep of rimy benches to the very roof—soldiers sailors work men women all listening as if their lives depended upon it A soldier was speakin,—from the Five Hundred and

* Th P onal G rnm t wo ld tu lly h sent its M ist of F gn Aff T esh henk sum d th po M y 16) d th Com m d Ch f f h Army B t M y 10 G l Al y t k d h l g g for pe h h h s l ced th ld trad ion l loyalty t h un ry d on J 4 h d m ss d Consequently th w Com m nd -in-Ch f or h deputy ould h ve bee th military pert. I se f full-sc l conf h d be h d these would ot h con st d th entire d l gation.—*Ed*

sick man he was and speaking in a voice so hoarse it could hardly be heard he shook his finger toward the right benches

You call us defeatists but the real defeatists are those who wait for a more propitious moment to conclude peace insist upon postponing peace until later until nothing is left of the Russian army until Russia becomes the subject *of bargaining between the different imperialist groups* You are trying to impose upon the Russian people a policy dictated by the interests of the bourgeoisie The question of peace should be raised without delay You will see then that not in vain has been the work of those whom you call German agents of those Zimmerwaldists* who in all the lands have prepared the awakening of the conscience of the democratic masses

Between these two groups the Mensheviki and Socialist Revolutionaries wavered irresistibly forced to the left by the pressure of the rising dissatisfaction of the masses Deep hostility divided the chamber into irreconcilable groups

This was the situation when the long awaited announcement of the Allied Conference in Paris brought up the burning question of foreign policy

Theoretically all Socialist parties in Russia were in favour of the earliest possible peace on democratic terms As long ago as May 1917 the Petrograd Soviet then under control of the Mensheviki and Socialist Revolutionaries had proclaimed the famous Russian peace conditions They had demanded that the Allies hold a conference to discuss war aims This conference had been promised for August then postponed until September

* Members of the r l t o ary int rn ti l st w ng of the Soc l t of Europe so-c ll d be a e of the r p rticip tion in th I tern t on l Co fe en e held at Z mm rwald Sw tze l d in 1915

supports them We thought that the Revolution would bring peace But now the Government forbids us even to talk of such things and at the same time doesn t give us enough food to live on or enough ammunition to fight with

From Europe came rumours of peace at the expense of Russia[6]

News of the treatment of Russian troops in France added to the discontent The First Brigade had tried to replace its officers with Soldiers Committees like their comrades at home and had refused an order to go to Salonika demanding to be sent to Russia They had been surrounded and starved and then fired on by artillery and many killed[7]

On October 29th I went to the white marble and crimson hall of the Marinsky palace where the Council of the Republic sat, to hear Tereshchenko s declaration of the Government s foreign policy awaited with such terrible anxiety by all the peace thirsty and exhausted land

A tall impeccably dressed young man with a smooth face and high cheek bones suavely reading his careful non-committal speech[8] Nothing Only the same platitudes about crushing German militarism with the help of the Allies—about the state interests of Russia about the embarrassment caused by Skobelev s *naka*. He ended with the key note

Russia is a great power Russia will remain a great power whatever happens We must all defend her we must show that we are defenders of a great ideal and children of a great power

Nobody was satisfied The reactionaries wanted a strong imperialist policy the democratic parties wanted an assurance that the Government would press for peace I reproduce an editorial in *Rabochi i Soldat*

Forty eighth Division wherever and whatever that was

Comrades he cried and there was real anguish in his drawn face and despairing gestures The people at the top are always calling upon us to sacrifice more sacrifice more while those who have everything are left unmolested

We are at war with Germany Would we invite German generals to serve on our Staff? Well we re at war with the capitalists too and yet we invite them into our Government

The soldier says Show me what I am fighting for Is it Constantinople or is it free Russia? Is it the democracy or is it the capitalist plunderers? If you can prove to me that I am defending the Revolution then I ll go out and fight without capital punishment to force me

When the land belongs to the peasants and the factories to the workers and the power to the Soviets then we ll know we have something to fight for and we ll fight for it!

In the barracks the factories on the street-corners endless soldier speakers all clamouring for an end to the war declaring that if the Government did not make an energetic effort to get peace the army would leave the trenches and go home

The spokesman for the Eighth Army

We are weak we have only a few men left in each company They must give us food and boots and reinforcements or soon there will be left only empty trenches Peace or supplies either let the Government end the war or support the Army

For the Forty sixth Siberian Artillery

The officers will not work with our Committees they betray us to the enemy they apply the death penalty to our agitators and the counter revolutionary Government

gr d they refused to follow him From passive loyalty to the Revolution the Cossacks have passed to an active political offensive (against it) From the back ground of the Revolution they have suddenly advanced to the front of the stage

Kaledin *ataman* of the Don Cossacks had been dis missed by the Provisional Government for his complicity in the Kornilov affair He flatly refused to resign and sur rounded by three immense Cossack armies lay at Novo che kask, plottin, and menacin, So great was his power that th Government was forced to ignore his insubordina tion More than that it was compelled formally to recog nise the Council of the Union of Cossack Armies and to declare illegal the newly formed Cossack Section of the Soviets

In the first part of October a Cossack delegation called upon Kerensky arrogantly insisting that the charges a ainst Kaledin be dropped and reproaching the Minister Pres ident for yielding to the Soviets Kerensky agreed to let Kaledin alone and then is reported to have said In the eyes of the Soviet leaders I am a despot and a tyrant As for the Provisional Government not only does it not depend upon the Soviets but it considers it regrettable that they exist at all

At the same time another Cossack mission called upon the British ambassador treatin, with him boldly as repre sentatives of the free Cossack people

In the Don something very like a Cossack Republic h d been established The Kuban declared itself an ind pend nt Cossack State The Soviets of Rostov-on Don and Yekaterinburg were dispersed by armed Cossac and the headquarters of the Coal Miners Union at Khar kov raided In all its manifestations the Cossack move ment was anti Socialist and militaristic Its leaders were

(Worker and Soldier) organ of the Bolshevik Petrograd Soviet

The Government s Answer to the Trenches

The most taciturn of our Ministers Mr Tereshchenko has actually told the trenches the following

1 We are closely united with our Allies (Not with the peoples but with the Governments)

2 There is no use for the democracy to discuss the possibility or impossibility of a winter campaign That will be decided by the Governments of our Allies

3 The 1st of July offensive was beneficial and a very happy affair (He did not mention the consequences)

4 It is not true that our Allies do not care about us The Minister has in his possession very important declarations (Declarations? What about deeds? What about the behaviour of the British fleet?[9] The parleying of the British king with exiled counter revolutionary General Gurko? The Minister did not mention all this)

5 The *naka*. to Skobelev is bad the Allies don t like it and the Russian diplomats don t like it In the Allied Conference we must all speak one language

And is that all? That is all What is the way out? The solution is faith in the Allies and in Tereshchenko When will peace come? When the Allies permit.

That is how the Government replied to the trenches about peace!

Now in the background of Russian politics began to form the vague outlines of a sinister power—the Cossacks *Novaya Zhizn* (New Life) Gorky s paper called attention to their activities

At the beginning of the Revolution the Cossacks refused to shoot down the people When Kornilov marched on Petro

ures of the Government were burning manor houses and massacring land owners Immense strikes and lock-outs convulsed Moscow Odessa and the coal mines of the Don Transportation was paralysed the army was starving and in the big cities there was no bread

The Government torn between the democratic and reactionary factions could do nothing when forced to act it always supported the interests of the propertied classes Cossacks were sent to restore order among the peasants to break the strikes In Tashkent Government authorities suppressed th Soviet In Petrograd the Economic Council established to rebuild the shattered economic life of the country came to a deadlock between the opposing forces of capital and labour and was dis solved by Kerensky The old regime military men backed by Cadets demanded that harsh measures be adopted to restore discipline in the Army and the Navy In vain Ad miral Verderevsky the venerable Minister of Marine and General Verkhovsky Minister of War insisted that only a new voluntary democratic discipline based on co-operation with the soldiers and sailors Committees could save the army and navy Their recommendations were ignored

The reactionaries seemed determined to provoke popu lar anger The trial of Kornilov was comin on More and more openly the bourgeois press defend d him speaking of him as the great Russian patriot Burtzev s paper *Obshchee Dielo* (Common Cause) called for a dictator ship of Kornilov Kaledin and Kerensky!

I had a talk with Burtzev one day in the press gallery of the Council of the Republic A small stooped figure with a wrinkled face eyes near sighted behind thick glasses untidy hair and beard streaked with grey

Mark my words young man! What Russia needs is a

nobles and great land owners like Kaledin Kornilov Generals Dutov Karaulov and Bardizhe and it was backed by the powerful merchants and bankers of Moscow

Old Russia was rapidly breaking up In Ukraine in Finland Poland White Russia the nationalist movements gathered strength and became bolder The local Governments controlled by the propertied classes claimed autonomy refusing to obey orders from Petrograd At Helsingfors the Finnish Senate declined to loan money to the Provisional Government declared Finland autonomous and demanded the withdrawal of Russian troops The bourgeois Rada at Kiev extended the boundaries of Ukraine until they included all the richest agricultural lands of South Russia as far east as the Urals and began the formation of a national army Premier Vinnichenko hinted at a separate peace with Germany—and the Provisional Government was helpless Siberia the Caucasus demanded separate Constituent Assemblies * And in all these countries there was the beginning of a bitter struggle between the authorities and the local Soviets of Workers and Soldiers Deputies

Conditions were daily more chaotic Hundreds of thousands of soldiers were deserting the front and beginnin to move in vast aimless tides over the face of the land The peasants of Tambov and Tver Governments tired of waiting for the land exasperated by the repressive meas

Reed ha here c fu d his t of e ly 1918 w th tho of 1917 The Ukr ini n Rada w s f auto my l f ee fede t o ntil th B l he k d tilo bip and ltra-c nt l sm made i l th t th w s impo bl V chenko w s not yet a p emier b t Chairm n f th Se t i t of th Rada The Ukr i e d d not p po e p te pe ce w th C rm ny t i L p epa d to m k h p t pe t B t L to sk Th boun s of auto omo or a ind pe d t Ukr i e w re t llv b t the R d s propo l was f r s lf-d t min t o in fre pleb c te The C c s l o d d not p at nt l the Con t tu nt Ass mbly s d sp rs d by th Bolshe k wh n they ct p th own S im or p l m nt formed from the d l g tes they h d ju t el cted to the Co tit ent Assembly The S beri n Const r t A sembly w s of similar l te o igin—*Ed*

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Strong Man We should get our minds off the Revolution now and concentrate on the Germans Bunglers bunglers to defeat Kornilov and back of the bunglers are the German agents Kornilov should have won

On the extreme right the organs of the scarcely veiled Monarchists Purishkevich s *Narodny Tribun* (People s Tribune) *Novaya Rus* (New Russia) and *Zhivoye Slovo* (Living Word) openly advocated the extermination of the revolutionary democracy

On the 23rd of October occurred the naval battle with a German squadron in the Gulf of Riga On the pretext that Petrograd was in danger the Provisional Government drew up plans for evacuating the capital First the great munitions works were to go distributed widely throughout Russia and then the Government itself was to move to Moscow Instantly the Bolsheviki began to cry out that the Government was abandoning the Red Capital in order to weaken the Revolution Riga had been sold to the Germans now Petrograd was being betrayed!

The bourgeois press was joyful At Moscow said the Cadet paper *Rech* (Speech) the Government can pursue its work in a tranquil atmosphere without being interfered with by anarchists Rodzianko leader of the right wing of the Cadet party declared in *Utro Rossii* (The Morning of Russia) that the taking of Petrograd by the Germans would be a blessing because it would destroy the Soviets and get rid of the revolutionary Baltic Fleet

Petrograd is in danger (he wrote) I say to myself Let God take care of Petrograd They fear that if Petrograd is lost the central revolutionary organisations will be destroyed To that I answer that I rejoice if all these organisations are destroyed *for they will bring nothing but disaster upon* Russia

With th taking of Petrograd the Baltic Fleet will also be de stroyed But there will be nothing to regret most of the battleships are completely demoralised

In the face of a storm of popular disapproval the plan of evacuation was repudiated

Meanwhile the Congress of Soviets loomed over Russia like a thunder cloud shot through with lightnings It was opposed not only by the Government but by all the moderate Socialists The Central Army and Fleet Committees the Central Committees of some of the Trade Unions the Peasants Soviets but most of all the *Tsay ee kah* itself spared no pains to prevent the meeting *Izvestia* and *Golos Soldata* (Voice of the Soldier) newspapers founded by the Petrograd Soviet but now in the hands of the *Tsay ee kah* fiercely assailed it as did the entire artillery of the Socialist Revolutionary party press *Dielo Naroda* (People s Cause) and *Volia Naroda* (People s Will)

Delegates were sent through the country messages flashed by wire to committees in charge of local Soviets to Army Committees instructing them to halt or delay elections to the Congress Solemn public resolutions against the Congress declarations that the democracy was opposed to the meeting so near the date of the Constituent Assembly representatives from the Front from the Union of Zemstvos the Peasants Union Union of Cossack Armies Union of Officers Knights of St George Death Battalions * protesting The Council of the Russian Republic was one chorus of disapproval The entire machinery set up by the Russian Revolution of March functioned to block the Congress of Soviets

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Meanwhile the Congress of Soviets loomed over Russia like a thunder-cloud shot through with lightnings It was opposed not only by the Government but by all the mod erate Socialists The Central Army and Fleet Commit tees the Central Committees of some of the Trade Unions the Peasants Soviets but most of all the *Tsay ee kah* itself spared no pains to prevent the meeting *Izvestia* and *Golos Soldata* (Voice of the Soldier) news papers founded by the Petrograd Soviet but now in the hands of the *Tsay ee kah* fiercely assailed it as did the entire artillery of the Socialist Revolutionary party press *Dielo Naroda* (People s Cause) and *Volia Naroda* (Peo ple s Will)

Dele ates were sent through the country messages flashed by wire to committees in charge of local Soviets to Army Committees instructing them to halt or delay elections to the Congress Solemn public resolutions against the Congress declarations that the democracy was opposed to the meeting so near the date of the Con stituent Assembly representatives from the Front from the Union of Zemstvos the Peasants Union Union of Cos ack Armies Union of Officers Knights of St George Death Battalions * protesting The Council of the Russian Republic was one chorus of disapproval The entire machinery set up by the Russian Revolution of March functioned to block the Congress of Soviets

On the other hand was the shapeless will of the pro-

See Not ad Explanati ns

letariat—the workmen common soldiers and poor peasants Many local Soviets were already Bolshevik then there were the organisations of the industrial workers the *Fabrichno Zavodskiye Comitieti*—Factory Shop Committees and the insurgent Army and Fleet organisations In some places the people prevented from electing their regular Soviet delegates held rump meetings and chose one of their number to go to Petrograd In others they smashed the old obstructionist committees and formed new ones A ground swell of revolt heaved and cracked the crust which had been slowly hardening on the surface of revolutionary fires dormant all those months Only a spontaneous mass movement could bring about the All Russian Congress of Soviets

Day after day the Bolshevik orators toured the barracks and factories violently denouncing this Government of civil war One Sunday we went on a top-heavy steam tram that lumbered through oceans of mud between stark factories and immense churches to *Obukhovsky Zavod* a Government munitions plant out on the Schlusselburg Prospekt

The meeting took place between the gaunt brick walls of a huge unfinished building ten thousand black clothed men and women packed around a scaffolding draped in red people heaped on piles of lumber and bricks perched high up on shadowy girders intent and thunder voiced Through the dull heavy sky now and again burst the sun flooding reddish light through the skeleton windows upon the mass of simple faces upturned to us

Lunacharsky a slight student like figure with the sensitive face of an artist was telling why the power must be taken by the Soviets Nothing else could guarantee the Revolution against its enemies who were *deliberately*

running the country running the army creating oppor tunities for a new Kornilov

A soldier from the Rumanian front, thin tragical and fierce cried Comrades! We are starving at the front we are stiff with cold We are dying for no reason I ask th Am rican comrades to carry word to America that the Russians will never give up their Revolution until they die We will hold the fort with all our strength until the peoples of the world rise and help us! Tell the American workers to rise and fight for the Social Revolution!"

Then came Petrovsky slight, slow voiced implacable

Now is the time for deeds not words The economic situation is bad but we must get used to it They are trying to starve us and freeze us They are trying to provoke us But let them know that they can go too far—that if they dare to lay their hands upon the organisations of th proletariat we will sweep them away like scum from the face of the earth!

The Bolshevik press suddenly expanded. Besides the two party papers *Rabochi Put* and *Soldat* (Soldier) there appeared a new paper for the peasants *Derevenskaya Byednota* (Village Poorest) poured out in a daily half million edition and on October 17th *Rabochi i Soldat* Its leading article summed up the Bolshevik point of view

The fourth year s campai n will mean the annihilation of the army nd the country There is danger for the safety of Petrogr d Counter revolutionists rejoice in the people s misfortunes The peasants brought to despera tion come out in open rebellion the landlords and Govern ment authorities ma sacre them with punitive expeditions factories and mines are closing down workmen are threatened with starvation. The bourgeoisie and its Generals want

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> "The fourth year's campaign will mean the annihilation of the army and the country. . . . There is danger for the safety of Petrograd. . . . Counter-revolutionists rejoice in the people's misfortunes. . . . The peasants brought to desperation come out in open rebellion; the landlords and Government authorities massacre them with punitive expeditions; factories and mines are closing down, workmen are threatened with starvation. . . . The bourgeoisie and its Generals want

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to restore a blind discipline in the army Supported by the bourgeoisie the Kornilovtsi are openly getting ready to break up the meeting of the Constituent Assembly

The Kerensky Government is against the people He will destroy the country This paper stands for the people and by the people—the poor classes workers soldiers and peasants The people can only be saved by the completion of the Revolution and for this purpose the full power must be in the hands of the Soviets

This paper advocates the following

All power to the Soviets—both in the capital and in the provinces

Immediate truce on all fronts An honest peace between peoples

Landlord estates—without compensation—to the peasants

Workers control over industrial production

A faithfully and honestly elected Constituent Assembly

It is interesting to reproduce here a passage from that same paper—the organ of those Bolsheviki so well known to the world as German agents

The German kaiser covered with the blood of millions of dead people wants to push his army against Petrograd Let us call to the German workmen soldiers and peasants who want peace not less than we do to stand up against this damned war!

This can be done only by a revolutionary Government which would speak really for the workmen soldiers and peasants of Russia and would appeal over the heads of the diplomats directly to the German troops fill the German trenches with proclamations in the German language Our airmen would spread these proclamations all over Germany

In the Council of the Republic the gulf between the two sides of the chamber deepened day by day

"The propertied classes," cried Karelin, for the Left Socialist Revolutionaries, "want to exploit the revolutionary machine of the State to bind Russia to the war-chariot of the Allies! The revolutionary parties are absolutely against this policy...."

Old Nicholas Chaikovsky, representing the Populist Socialists, spoke against giving the land to the peasants, and took the side of the Cadets:

"We must have immediately strong discipline in the army.... Since the beginning of the war, I have not ceased to insist that it is a crime to undertake social and economic reforms in war-time. We are committing that crime, and yet I am not the enemy of these reforms, because I am a Socialist."

Cries from the Left, "We don't believe you!" Mighty applause from the Right.

Adzhemov, for the Cadets, declared that there was no necessity to tell the army what it was fighting for, since every soldier ought to realise that the first task was to drive the enemy from Russian territory.

Kerensky himself came twice to plead passionately for national unity, once bursting into tears at the end. The assembly heard him coldly, interrupting with ironical remarks.

Smolny Institute, headquarters of the *Tsay-ee-kah* and of the Petrograd Soviet, lay miles out on the edge of the city, beside the wide Neva. I went there on a street-car, moving snail-like with a groaning noise through the cobbled, muddy streets, and jammed with people. At the end

This attests rather to the nature of streetcar traffic than to Reed's sense of geography. Smolny is in the very heart of downtown monumental Petrograd, two blocks from the Tauride Palace where the Duma and the Provisional Government met, four lengthy blocks from the old American Embassy and about the same distance from the Liteiny Prospekt and the Nevsky Prospekt.—*Ed.*

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taking me to dinner and stood in line with a thousand others waiting to get to the long serving tables where twenty men and women were ladling from immense cauldrons cabbage soup hunks of meat and piles of *kasha* slabs of black bread Five kopeks paid for tea in a tin cup From a basket one grapped a greasy wooden spoon

The benches along the wooden tables were packed with hungry proletarians wolfing their food plotting shouting rough jokes across the room

Upstairs was another eating place reserved for the *Tsay-ee kah*—though every one went there Here could be had bread thickly buttered and endless glasses of tea.

In the south wing on the second floor was the great hall of meetings the former ball room of the Institute A lofty white room lighted by glazed white chandeliers holding hundreds of ornate electric bulbs and divided by two rows of massive columns at one end a dais flanked with two tall many branched light standards and a gold frame behind from which the Imperial portrait had been cut Here on festal occasions had been banked brilliant military and ecclesiastical uniforms a setting for Grand Duchesses

Just across the hall outside was the office of the Credentials Committee for the Congress of Soviets I stood

ТОВАРИЩИ,

ДЛЯ ВАШЕГО-ЖЕ ЗДОРОВЬЯ,
СОБЛЮДАЙТЕ ЧИСТОТУ.

of the line rose the graceful smoke blue cupolas of Smolny Convent outlined in dull gold beautiful and beside it the great barracks like façade of Smolny Institute two hundred yards long and three lofty stories high the Imperial arms carved hugely in stone still insolent over the entrance

Under the old regime a famous convent school for the daughters of the Russian nobility patronised by the Tsarina herself the Institute had been taken over by the revolutionary organisations of workers and soldiers Within were more than a hundred huge rooms white and bare on their doors enamelled plaques still informing the passerby that within was Ladies Class room Number 4 or Teachers Bureau but over these hung crudely lettered signs evidence of the vitality of the new order Central Committee of the Petrograd Soviet and *Tsay ee kah* and Bureau of Foreign Affairs Union of Socialist Soldiers Central Committee of the All Russian Trade Unions Factory Shop Committees Central Army Committee and the central offices and caucus rooms of the political parties

The long vaulted corridors lit by rare electric lights were thronged with hurrying shapes of soldiers and workmen some bent under the weight of huge bundles of newspapers proclamations printed propaganda of all sorts The sound of their heavy boots made a deep and incessant thunder on the wooden floor Signs were posted up everywhere Comrades! For the sake of your health preserve cleanliness! Long tables stood at the head of the stairs on every floor and on the landings heaped with pamphlets and the literature of the different political parties for sale

The spacious low ceilinged refectory downstairs was still a dining room For two rubles I bought a ticket en

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offset whatever action the workers and soldiers mi ht take

What would the Bolsheviki do? Rumours ran through the city that there would be an armed demonstration " a *vystupleniye*— coming out of the workers and soldiers The bourgeois and reactionary press prophesied insurrec tion and u ged the Government to arrest the Petrograd Soviet, or at least to prevent the meeting of the Congress Such sheets as *Novaya Rus* advocated a general Bolshevik massacre

Gorky s paper *Novaya Zhi n* agreed with the Bolshe viki that the reactionaries were attempting to destroy the Revolution and that if necessary they must be resisted by force of arms but all the parties of the revolutionary de mocracy must present a united front

> As lon as the democracy has not organised its principal forces so long as the resistance to its influence is still strong there is no advantage in passing to the attack But if the hostile elements appeal to force then the revolutionary democracy should enter the battle to seize the power and it will be sustained by the most profound strata of the peo ple

Gorky pointed out that both reactionary and Govern ment newspapers were inciting the Bolsheviki to violence An insurrection however would prepare the way for a new Kornilov He urged the Bolsheviki to deny the rumours Potresov in the Menshevik *Dien* (Day) pub lished a sensational story accompanied by a map which profes ed to reveal the secret Bolshevik plan of campaign

As if by magic the walls were covered with warn ings [10] proclamations appeals from the Central Commit tees of the moderate and conservative factions and the *Tsay-ee-kah* denouncing any demonstrations imploring

there watching the new delegates come in—burly bearded soldiers workmen in black blouses a few long haired peasants The girl in charge—a member of Plekhanov s *Yedinstvo** group—smiled contemptuously These are very different people from the delegates to the first *Sie d* (Congress) she remarked See how rough and ignorant they look! The Dark People It was true the depths of Russia had been stirred and it was the bottom which came uppermost now The Credentials Committee appointed by the old *Tsay ee kah* was challenging delegate after delegate on the ground that they had been illegally elected Karakhan member of the Bolshevik Central Committee simply grinned Never mind he said When the t me comes we ll see that you get your seats

Rabochi i Soldat said

The attention of delegates to the new All Russian Con ress is called to attempts of certain members of the Organising Committee to break up the Congress by asserting that it will not take place and that delegates had better leave Petrograd Pay no attention to these lies Great days are coming

It was evident that a quorum would not come together by November 2 so the opening of the Congress was postponed to the 7th But the whole country was now aroused, and the Mensheviki and Socialist Revolutionaries *realising that they were defeated suddenly changed* their tactics and began to wire frantically to their provincial organisations to elect as many moderate Socialist delegates as possible At the same time the Executive Committee of the Peasants Soviets issued an emergency call for a Peasants Congress to meet December 13th and

* See Notes and Explanations

Under date of October 29th I find entered in my note book the followin, items culled from the newspapers of the day

Mo hilev (General Staff Headquarters) Concentration here of loyal Guard Regiments the Sava,e Division Cossacks and Death Battalions

The *yunkers* of the Officers Schools of Pavlovsk Tsarskoye Selo and Peterhof ordered by the Government to be ready to come to Petrograd Oranienbaum *yunkers* arrive in the city

Part of the Armoured Car Division of the Petrograd garrison stationed in the Winter Palace

Upon orders signed by Trotsky several thousand rifles de 'ivered by the Government Arms Factory at Sestroretsk to delegates of the Petrograd workmen

At a meeting of the City Militia of the Lower Liteiny Quarter a resolution demanding that all power be given to the Soviets

This is just a sample of the confused events of those feverish days when everybody knew that somethin, was goin, to happen but nobody knew just what

At a meeting of the Petro,rad Soviet in Smolny the night of October 30th Trotsky branded the assertions of the bourgeois press that the Soviet contemplated armed insurrection as an attempt of the reactionaries to discredit and wreck the Con,ress of Soviets The Petrograd Soviet he declared had not ordered any *vystu plenie* If it is necessary we shall do so and we will be supported by the Petrograd garrison They (the Government) are preparing a counter revolution and we shall answer with an offensive which will b, merciless and decisive

It is true that the Petrograd Soviet had not ordered a demonstration but the Central Committee of the Bolshe

See Notes and Expl ations.

the workers and soldiers not to listen to agitators For instance, this from the Military Section of the Socialist Revolutionary party

> Again rumours are spreading around the town of an intended *vystuplenie* What is the source of these rumors? What organisation authorizes these agitators who preach insurrection? *The Bolsheviki to a question addressed to them in the Tsay ee kah* denied that they have anything to do with it But these rumours themselves carry with them a great danger It may easily happen that not taking into consideration the state of mind of the majority of the workers soldiers and peasants individual hot heads will call out part of the workers and soldiers on the streets inciting them to an uprising
>
> In this fearful time through which revolutionary Russia is passing any insurrection can easily turn into civil war and there can result from it the destruction of all organisations of the proletariat built up with so much labour The counter revolutionary plotters are planning to take advantage of this insurrection to destroy the Revolution open the front to Wilhelm and wreck the Constituent Assembly Stick stubbornly to your posts! Do not come out!

On October 28th in the corridors of Smolny I spoke with Kamenev, a little man with a reddish pointed beard and Gallic gestures He was not at all sure that enough delegates would come If there *is* a Congress he said it will represent the overwhelming sentiment of the people If the majority is Bolshevik as I think it will be we shall demand that the power be given to the Soviets and the Provisional Government must resign

Volodarsky a tall pale youth with glasses and a bad complexion was more definite The Lieber Dans and the other compromisers are sabotaging the Congress If they succeed in preventing its meeting—well then we are realists enough not to depend on *that!*"

nificance of the success of the Bolshevik propaganda On the 29th a joint commission of the Government and the Council of the Republic hastily drew up two laws one for giving the land temporarily to the peasants and the other for pushing an energetic foreign policy of peace The next day Kerensky suspended capital punishment in the army That same afternoon was opened with great ceremony the first session of the new Commission for Strengthening the Republican Regime and Fighting Against Anarchy and Counter Revolution —of which history shows not the slightest further trace The following morning with two other correspondents I interviewed Kerensky[1] —the last time he received journalists

The Russian people he said bitterly are suffering from economic fatigue—and from disillusionment with the Allies! The world thinks that the Russian Revolution is at an end Do not be mistaken The Russian Revolution is just beginning Words more prophetic perhaps than he knew

Stormy was the all night meeting of the Petrograd Soviet the 30th of October at which I was present The moderate Socialist intellectuals officers members of Army Committees the *Tsay ee kah* were there in force Against them rose up workmen peasants and common soldiers passionate and simple

A peasant told of the disorders in Tver which he said were caused by the arrest of the Land Committees "This Kerensky is nothing but a shield to the *pomieshchiki* (land owners) he cried They know that at the Constituent Assembly we will take the land anyway so they are trying to destroy the Constituent Assembly!"

A machinist from the Putilov works described how the superintendents were closing down the departments one by one on the pretext that there was no fuel or raw ma

viki party was considering the question of insurrection All night long the 23d they met There were present all the party intellectuals the leaders—and delegates of the Petrograd workers and garrison Alone of the intellectuals Lenin and Trotsky stood for insurrection Even the military men opposed it A vote was taken Insurrection was defeated!

Then arose a rough workman his face convulsed with rage I speak for the Petrograd proletariat he said harshly We are in favour of insurrection Have it your own way, but I tell you now that if you allow the Soviets to be destroyed *we re through with you!* Some soldiers joined him And after that they voted again—insurrection won

However the right wing of the Bolsheviki led by Riazanov Kamenev and Zinoviev continued to campaign against an armed rising On the morning of October 31st appeared in *Rabochi Put* the first instalment of Lenin s Letter to the Comrades one of the most audacious pieces of political propaganda the world has ever seen In it Lenin seriously presented the arguments in favour of insurrection taking as text the objections of Kamenev and Riazanov Either openly renouncing the slogan All Power to the Soviets he wrote or an uprising There is no middle course

That same afternoon Paul Miliukov leader of the Cadets made a brillant bitter speech[11] in the council of the Republic branding the Skobelev *nakaz* as pro-German declaring that the revolutionary democracy was destroying Russia sneering at Tereshchenko and openly declaring that he preferred German diplomacy to Russian The Left benches were one roaring tumult all through

On its part the Government could not ignore the sig

rocked with laughter Let us for a moment forget the class struggle— But he got no farther A voice yelled Don t you wish we would!

Petrograd presented a curious spectacle in those days In the factories the committee rooms were filled with stacks of rifles couriers came and went the Red Guard* drilled In all the barracks meetings every night and all day long interminable hot argum nts On the streets the crowds thickened toward gloomy evening pouring in slow voluble tides up and down the Nevsky fi hting for the newspapers Hold ups increased to such an extent that it was dangerous to walk down side streets On the Sadovaya one afternoon I saw a crowd of several hundred people beat and trample to death a soldier cau ht stealing Mysterious individuals circulated around the shivering women who waited in *queue* long cold hours for bread and m lk whispering that the Jews had cornered the food supply—and that while the people starved the Soviet members lived luxuriously

At Smolny there were strict guards at the door and the outer gates demanding everybody s pass The committee rooms buzzed and hummed all day and all night hundreds of soldiers and workmen slept on the floor wherever they could find room Upstairs in the great hall a thousand people crowded to the uproarious sessions of the Petrograd Soviet

Gambling clubs functioned hectically from dusk to dawn with champagne flowing and stakes of twenty thousand rubles In the centre of the city at night prostitutes in jewels and expensive furs walked up and down crowded the cafes

Monarchist plots German spies smugglers hatching schemes

* See Notes and E pl tions.

terials The Factory-Shop Committee, he declared had discovered huge hidden supplies

It is a *provocatsia* said he They want to starve us—or drive us to violence!

Among the soldiers one began Comrades! I bring you greetings from the place where men are digging their graves and call them trenches!

Then arose a tall gaunt young soldier with flashing eyes met with a roar of welcome It was Chudnovsky reported killed in the July fighting and now risen from the dead

The soldier masses no longer trust their officers Even the Army Committees who refused to call a meeting of our Soviet betrayed us The masses of the soldiers want the Constituent Assembly to be held exactly when it was called for and those who dare to postpone it will be cursed—and not only platonic curses either for the Army has guns too

He told of the electoral campaign for the Constituent now raging in the Fifth Army The officers and especially the Mensheviki and the Socialist Revolutionaries are trying deliberately to cripple the Bolsheviki Our papers are not allowed to circulate in the trenches Our speakers are arrested——

Why don t you speak about the lack of bread? shouted another soldier

Man shall not live by bread alone answered Chudnovsky sternly

Followed him an officer delegate from the Vitebsk Soviet a Menshevik *oboronetz* It isn t the question of who has the power The trouble is not with the Government but with the war and the war must be won before any change— At this hoots and ironical cheers These Bolshevik agitators are demagogues! The hall

150	Workers and Peasants Cooperative Societies
20	Railway Workers Union
10	Post and Telegraph Workers Union
?0	Commercial Clerks
15	Liberal Professions—Doctors Lawyers Journal ists etc
50	Provincial Zemstvos
59	Nationalist Organisations—Poles Ukrainians etc

This proport on was altered twice or three times The final dis posit on of delegates was

300 delegates	All Russian Soviets Workers Soldiers & Peas ants Deputies
300	Cooperative Societies
300	Municipalities
150	Army Committees at the Front
150	Provincial Zemstvos
00	Trade Unions
100	Nat onal st Organisations
200	Several small groups

3 The Function of the Soviets is Ended

On September ?8th 1917 *Iz st* organ of the *Tsay ee kal* p bl hed an article wh ch said speakin, of the last Provis onal Ministry

At last a truly democrat c government born of the will of all classes of the Ru sian people the first rough form of the future liberal p rliamentary rég me has b en formed Ahead of us *is the* Const tuent A sembly which w ll solve all questions of fundamen tal law and whose compos tion w ll be essent ally democratic The function of the Sov ets is at an en l and the time is approach ng wh n they m t etire with the r st of the re olutionary ma chinery from the stage of a free and victorious people whose weapons shall hereafter be the peaceful ones of pol tical action.

Th le d ng article of *Iz e t a* for October 23d was called The Cr s s n the So iet Organ tions It beg n by saying that travellers reported a lessening acti ity of local Sov ets everywhere "This is natural s d the w iter For the people are becoming

And in the rain the bitter chill the great throbbing city under grey skies rushing faster and faster toward—what?

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1

The Kornilov revolt is treated in detail in my forthcoming volume *Kornilov to Brest Litovsk* " *The responsibility of Keren* sky for the situation which gave rise to Kornilov s attempt is now pretty clearly established Many apologists for Kerensky say that he knew of Kornilov s plans and by a trick drew him out pre maturely and then crushed him Even Mr A J Sack in his book The Birth of the Russian Democracy says

Several things are almost certain The first is that Keren sky knew about the movement of several detachments from the Front toward Petrograd and it is possible that as Prime Minister and Minister of War realising the growing Bolshevist danger he called for them

The only flaw in that argument is that there was no Bolshevist danger at that time the Bolsheviki still being a powerless minority in the Soviets and their leaders in jail or hiding

2 Democratic Conference

When the Democratic Conference was first proposed to Keren sky he suggested an assembly of all the elements in the nation— the live forces as he called them—including bankers manufac turers land owners and representatives of the Cadet party *The Soviet refused and drew up the following table of representation* which Kerensky agreed to

100	delegates	All Russian Soviets Workers and Soldiers Deputies
100	"	All Russian Soviets Peasants Deputies
50	"	Provincial Soviets Workers and Soldiers Deputies
50	"	*Peasants District Land Committees*
100	"	Trade Unions
84	"	Army Committees at the Front

war and ensure the calling of the Constituent Assembly at the given time In the meanwhile behind the back of the Democratic Conference by trickery by deals between Citizen Kerensky the Cadets, and the leaders of the Menshevik and Socialist Revolutionary parties we received the opposite result from the officially announced purpose A power was created around which and in which we ha e open and secret Kornilovs playing lead ng parts The irresponsibility of the Government is officially proclaimed when it is announced that *the Council of the Russian Republ c is* to be a *cons lt t ve* and not a *legislat e* body In the eighth month of the Re olution the irrespons ble Government creates a cover for itself in this new ed tion of Bieligen s Duma

The propertied classes have entered this Provisional Council in a proportion which clearly shows from elections all o er the country that many of them have no right here whatever In spite of that the Cadet Party which until yesterday wanted the Provisional Go ernment to be responsible to the State Duma—this same Cadet p rty secured the independence of the Government from the Council of the Republic In the Constituent Assembly the propertied classes will no doubt have a less *favourable* posit on than they have in this Council and they will not be able to be rrespons ble to the Constituent Assembly

If the propertied classes were *really getting ready for* the Con st tu nt Assembly six weeks from now there could be no reason for e tablishing the irrespons bility of the Government at this *time* The whole truth is that the bourgeoisie which directs the pol cies of the Prov s onal Government has for its a m to break the Con stitu nt As embly At present this is the main *purpose of* the p opertied classes which control our entire national policy—external and internal In the industrial agrarian and supply departments the politics of the propertied classes acting with the Government increases the n tural disorganis tion caused by the war The p opertied classes which are pro okin a peasants revolt! The propert ed classes which are pro oking civil war and openly hold th ir course n the bony hand of hun er with which they intend to overthrow the Revolution and finish with the Constituent Assembly

N less crim nal also is the in ernat onal policy of the bourgeo sie and its Go ernment Aft r forty months of war the capital is thre t ned w th mort l danger In reply to this arises a plan to move the Government to Moscow The idea of abandoning the

interested in the more permanent legislative organs—the Municipal Dumas and the Zemstvos

In the important centres of Petrograd and Moscow where the Soviets were best organised they did not take in all the democratic elements The majority of the intellectuals did not participate and many workers also some of the workers because they were politically backward others because the centre of gravity for them was in their Unions We cannot deny that these organisations are firmly united with the masses whose everyday needs are better served by them

That the local democratic administrations are being energetically organised is highly important The City Dumas are elected by universal suffrage and in purely local matters have more authority than the Soviets Not a single democrat will see anything wrong in this

Elections to the Municipalities are being conducted in a better and more democratic way than the elections to the Soviets All classes are represented in the Municipalities And as soon as the local Self Governments begin to organise life in the Municipalities the role of the local Soviets naturally ends

There are two factors in the falling off of interest in the Soviets The first we may attribute to the lowering of political interest in the masses the second to the growing effort of provincial and local governing bodies to organise the building of new Russia. The more the tendency lies in this latter direction the sooner disappears the significance of the Soviets

We ourselves are being called the undertakers of our own organisation In reality we ourselves are the hardest workers in constructing the new Russia

When autocracy and the whole bureaucratic régime fell we set up the Soviets as a barracks in which all the democracy could find temporary shelter Now instead of barracks we are building the permanent edifice of a new system and naturally the people will gradually leave the barracks for more comfortable quarters

4 Trotsky's Speech at the Council of the Russian Republic

"The purpose of the Democratic Conference which was called by the *Tsay ee kah* was to do away with the irresponsible personal government which produced Kornilov and *to establish a responsible government* which would be capable of finishing the

The peace treaty must be based on the principle "No annexa tions no indemnities the ri ht of self-d termination of peoples"

Territo al Problems

(1) Evacuation of German troops from invaded Russia Full right of self-determination to Poland Lithuania and Livonia

(2) For Turkish Armenia autonomy and later complete self determinat on as soon as local Governments are established

(3) The question of Alsace Lorraine to be solved by a plebisc te, after the withdrawal of all foreign troops

(4) Belgium to be restored Compensation for damages from an internat onal fund

(5) Serbia and Montenegro to be restored and a ded by an nt rnat onal rel ef fund Serbia to have an outlet on the Adriatic. Bosnia and Herzego ina to be autonomous

(6) Th d sputed provinces in the Balkans to have provisional nomy f llowed by a plebiscite

(7) Rumania to be restored but forced to g ve complete self dete minat on to the Dobrudja. Rumania must be forced to e ecute the cl uses of the Berlin Treaty concerning the Jews and recognise them as Rumanian c tizens

(8) In Ital a Ir identa a pro isional autonomy followed by a pleb scite to determine state dependence

(9) The German colonies to be returned

(10) Greece and Pers a to be restored

F d m of the Se s

All strait open ng into inland seas as well as the Suez and Pa ama Canals are to be neutralised Commercial shipping to be free The r ght of privateering to be abolished The torpedo ng of commerc al ships to be forbidden.

I d mnities

All combatants to renounce demands for any indemnities either direct or i direct—as for instance ch rges for the maintenanc of pri o ers Indemnities and contributions collected during the war mu t be refunded

Eco m T ms

Commercial treaties are not to be a part of the peace terms. E ery cou try m st be ndepende t in its commerc al relat ons

capital does not stir the indignation of the bourgeoisie Just the opposite It is accepted as a natural part of the general policy designed to promote counter revolutionary conspiracy Instead of recognising that the salvation of the country lies in concluding peace instead of throwing openly the idea of immediate peace to all the worn-out peoples over the heads of diplomats and imperialists and making the continuation of the war impossible—the Provisional Government by order of the Cadets the Counter Revolutionists and the Allied Imperialists without sense without purpose and without a plan continues to drag on the murderous war sentencing to useless death new hundreds of thousands of soldiers and sailors and preparing to give up Petrograd and to wreck the Revolution At a time when Bolshevik soldiers and sailors are dying with other soldiers and sailors as a result of the mistakes and crimes of others the so-called Supreme Commander (Kerensky) continues to suppress the Bolshevik press The leading parties of the Council are acting as a voluntary cover for these policies

We the faction of Social Democrats Bolsheviki announce that with this Government of Treason to the People we have nothing in common We have nothing in common with the work of these Murderers of the People which goes on behind official curtains We refuse either directly or indirectly to cover up one day of this work While Wilhelm s troops are threatening Petrograd the Government of Kerensky and Kornilov is preparing to run away from Petrograd and turn Moscow into a base of counter revolution!

We warn the Moscow workers and soldiers to be on their guard Leaving this Council we appeal to the manhood and wisdom of the workers peasants and soldiers of all Russia Petrograd is in danger! The Revolution is in danger The Government has increased the danger—the ruling classes intensify it Only the people themselves can save themselves and the country

We appeal to the people Long live immediate honest democratic peace! All power to the Soviets! All land to the people! Long live the Constituent Assembly!

5 The "Nakaz" to Skobelev

Résumé

(Passed by the *Tsay-ee-kah* and given to Skobelev as an instruction for the representative of the Russian Revolutionary democracy at the Paris Conference)

mer of 1917 in which delegates participated from all belligerent countries representing large financial interests in all these coun tries and the attempted negotiations of an Engl sh agent with a Bulgarian church dignitary all pointed to th fact that there were strong currents on both sides favourable to patchin up a peace at the expense of Russia In my next book Korn lov to Brest Litovsk I intend to treat this matter at some length publishing several secret documents d scovered in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Petrograd

7 Russ an Sold ers in France

Offc l Repo t of the Provisional Government

From the time the news of the Russian Revolution reached Paris Russ an newspapers of extreme tendencies immediately be gan to appear and the e newspapers as well as individuals freely circulated amo g the soldier m sses and began a Bolshevik propa ganda often spreadin false news which appeared in the French journals In the absence of all official news and of precise details, th s campa gn provoked discontent among the sold ers The result was a desire to return to Russia and a hatred toward the officers

Finally it all turn d into rebellion. In one of their meetings the oldiers issued an appeal to refuse to drill since they had dec ded to fi ht no more It was decided to isolate the rebels and General Za k v h ordered all soldiers loyal to t e Provisional Governme t to lea e the camp of Courtine and to carry with th m all ammunition On June 25th the order was executed there remained t the camp only the sold ers who said they would s bm t conditionally to the Pro isional Government. The soldiers at the amp of Courtine received several times the vis t of the Commander in-Chief of the Russian Armies abroad of Rapp the Comm sar of the Min stry of War and of several distinguished former exil who wished to influence them but these attempts we e nsuccessful a d finally Commissar Rapp insisted that the ebels l y down their rms nd in sign of subm ssion march in good order to a place called Clairvaux The order was only par t ally obeyed fir t 500 men went out of whom 22 were arrested 24 hours later about 6 000 followed About 000 re m ned

It was dec ded to i crease the pressure their rations were

and must not be obliged to or prevented from concluding an economic treaty by the Treaty of Peace Nevertheless all nations should bind themselves by the Peace Treaty not to practise an economic blockade after the war nor to form separate tariff agreements The right of most favoured nation must be given to all countries without distinction

Guarantees of Peace

Peace is to be concluded at the Peace Conference by delegates elected by the national representative institutions of each country The peace terms are to be confirmed by these parliaments

Secret diplomacy is to be abolished all parties are to bind themselves not to conclude any secret treaties Such treaties are declared in contradiction to international law and void All treaties until confirmed by the parliaments of the different nations are to be considered void

Gradual disarmament both on land and sea and the establishment of a militia system The League of Nations advanced by President Wilson may become a valuable aid to international law provided that (a) all nations are to be obliged to participate in it with equal rights and (b) international politics are to be democratised

Ways to Peace

The Allies are to announce immediately that they are willing to open peace negotiations as soon as the enemy powers declare their consent to the renunciation of all forcible annexations

The Allies must bind themselves not to begin any peace negotiations nor to conclude peace except in a general Peace Conference with the participation of delegates from all the neutral countries

All obstacles to the Stockholm Socialist Conference are to be removed and passports are to be given immediately to all delegates of parties and organisations who wish to participate

(The Executive Committee of the Peasants Soviets also issued a *naka* which differs little from the above)

6 Peace at Russia s Expense

The Ribot revelations of Austria s peace-offer to France the so-called "Peace Conference at Berne Switzerland during the sum

8 Tereshchenko s Speech

Résumé

The questions of foreign policy are closely related to those of national defence And so if in quest ons of national defence you think it is necessary to hold ses ion in secret also in our fo e gn policy we are sometimes forced to observe the same secrecy

German diplomacy attempts to influence public opinion Therefo e the declarations of directors of great democrati or gani ations who talk loudly of a revolutionary Congress and the impossib l ty of another *winter campaign are dangerous* All these declarat ons cost human lives

I w sh to speak merely of governmental lo c without touching the que tions of the honour and dign ty of the State From the poi t of view of log c the fore gn policy of Russia ought to be b sed on a real comprehension of the *interests* of Russia These interests mean that it is impossible that our country remain alone and that the present alignment of forces with us (the Allie) s satisfactory All humanity longs for peace but in Ru s a no one will perm t a humil at ng peace which would violat the State interests of our fatherland

The orator po nted out that such a peace would for long years f not for centuries ret rd the triumph of democratic princ ples in the world and would inevitably cause new wars

All rem mbe the d ys of May when the fratern sation on our Fro t threatened to end the war by a simple cessation of military ope at ns a d lead the country to a shameful separate peace and what efforts it was necessary to use to make the sold er masses t the front understand that it was not by this method that the Ru s an State mu t end the war and guarantee its inter st

H spoke of the m raculous effect of the July off nsive what tre gth it ga e to the words of Ru sian ambassadors abroad and the despair n G rmany caused by the Russian v tories And also the d sillusionme t i All ed countr es which followed the Russ n defeat

As to the Russ an Governme t t adhered strictly to the formula of May No annexat ons and no punitive indemnit es

diminished their pay was cut off and the roads toward the village of Courtine were guarded by French soldiers General Zankevich having discovered that a Russian artillery brigade was passing through France decided to form a mixed detachment of infantry and artillery to reduce the rebels A deputation was sent to the rebels the deputation returned several hours later convinced of the futility of the negotiations On September 1st General Zankevich sent an ultimatum to the rebels demanding that they lay down their arms and menacing in case of refusal to open fire with artillery if the order was not obeyed by September 3d at 10 o clock

The order not being executed a light fire of artillery was opened on the place at the hour agreed upon Eighteen shells were fired and the rebels were warned that the bombardment would become more intense In the night of September 3d 160 men surrendered September 4th the artillery bombardment recommenced and at 11 o clock after 36 shells had been fired the rebels raised two white flags and began to leave the camp without arms By evening 8 300 men had surrendered 150 soldiers who remained in the camp opened fire with machine guns that night The 5th of September to make an end of the affair a heavy barrage was laid on the camp and our soldiers occupied it little by little The rebels kept up a heavy fire with their machine guns September 6th at 9 o clock the camp was entirely occupied After th disarmament of the rebels 81 arrests were made

Thus the report From secret documents discovered in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs however we know that the account is not strictly accurate The first trouble arose when the soldiers tried to form Committees as their comrades in Russia were doing They demanded to be sent back to Russia which was refused and then being considered a dangerous influence in France they were ordered to Salonika They refused to go and the battle followed It was discovered that they had been left in camp without officers for about two months and badly treated before they became rebellious All attempts to find out the name of the Russian artillery brigade which had fired on them were futile the telegrams discovered in the Ministry left it to be inferred that French artillery was used

After their surrender more than two hundred of the mutineers were shot in cold blood

sible said Tereshchenko for Russia must have free ports on the Baltic all the year round

In this question the problems of foreign pol cy are also closely related to interior politics for if there existed a strong sentiment of unity of all great Russia one would not witness the repeated manifestations everywhere of a desire of peoples to separate from the Central Government Such separations are *contrary* to the interests of Russia, and the Russian delegates cannot raise the issue

9 The British Fleet (*etc.*)

At the time of the naval battle of the Gulf of Riga, not only the Bolsheviki but also the Ministers of the Provisional Govern ment cons dered that the British Fleet had deliberately abandoned the Baltic as one indication of the attitude so often expressed publicly by the British press and semi publicly by British repre sentatives in Russ a Russia s finished No use bothering about Rus ia

See interv ew with Kerensky (Note 12 p 67)

General Gurko was a former Chief of Staff of the Russian armies under the Tsar He was a prominent figure in the corrupt Imperial Court After the Revolution he was one of the very few person ex led for his polit cal and personal record The Russian na al defeat in the Gulf of R ga coincided with the public recep t on by King George in London of General Gurko a man whom the R ssian P o isional Government considered dangerously pro-German s well as reactionary!

Gen ral G k was ot pect d f being p o-G man. H w dism sed f his st bborn d tspok m f th P is al G mm t f it Dec th Right f th Sold er hi h h ns st d would d m alize th disc pl d fighting cap ity f the rmy of the J ly Offen improp-erly p ep red d t d in d f t f th mm qué iss d d g th ffen as mm qué which al d too m h t th my t At firs d i d th righ t re ign his pos h was l t rr t d K rensky pe so al de b could ot be tried beca se h h d comm d pu h bl ff se H wa finally d d without trial by an dm rat der issued by th Prem er nd the Minist f War H w s permitted t g t E gland and th Provis onal G rnm t sked th English G rnm nt to g him f ge—*Ed*

We consider it essential not only to proclaim the self-determination of peoples but also to renounce imperialist aims

Germany is continually trying to make peace The only talk in Germany is of peace she knows she cannot win

I reject the reproaches aimed at the Government which allege that Russian foreign policy does not speak clearly enough about the aims of the war

If the question arises as to what ends the Allies are pursuing, it is indispensable first to demand what aims the Central Powers have agreed upon

'The desire is often heard that we publish the details of the treaties which bind the Allies but people forget that up to now we do not know the treaties which bind the Central Powers "

Germany he said evidently wants to separate Russia from the West by a series of weak buffer states

'This tendency to strike at the vital interests of Russia must be checked

"And will the Ru sian democracy whi h has inscribed on its banner the rights of nations to dispose of themselves allow calmly the continuation of oppression upon the most civilised peoples (in Austria Hungary)?

'Those who fear that the Allies will try to profit by our difficult situation to make us support more than our share of the burden of war and to solve the questions of peace at our expense are entirely mistaken Our enemy looks upon Russia as a market for its products The end of the war will leave us in a feeble condition and with our frontier open the flood of German products can easily hold back for years our industrial development Measures must be taken to guard against this

I say openly and frankly the combination of forces which unites us to the Allies is *favourable to the interests of Russia*

It is therefore important that our views on the questions of war and peace shall be in accord with the views of the Allies as clearly and precisely as possible To avoid all misunderstanding I must say frankly that Russia must present at the Paris Conference *one point of view*

He did not want to comment on the *naka* to Skobelev but he referred to the Manifesto of the Dutch Scandinavian Committee just published in Stockholm This Manifesto declared for the autonomy of Lithuania and Livonia but that is clearly impos

The Central Ex c u e Committee of the Soviets of Workers a d Sold ers' Deputies (Tsay ee kah)

•

Russi n Soc al Democratic Labour Party

THE DANGER IS NEAR!

To All Workers and Soldiers

(Read and Hand to Others)

Comrades Workers a d Sold ers'

Our country is in danger On account of this danger our freedom and our Revolution are passin through difficult days The enemy is at the gates of Petrograd The di organisation is growing with every hour It becomes more and more difficult to obtain bread for Petrograd. All all from the smallest to the gre test must redouble their efforts must endeavour to arrange th g properly We must sa e our country save freedom

More arms and provis ons for the Army! Bread—for the gre t c ties Order and organisation in the country

And in these terrible critical days rumours creep about that SOMEWHERE a demonstration is being prepared that SOME ONE s c ll n on the soldiers nd workers to destroy revolutionary peac and or ler *Rab chi Put* the newspaper of the Bol shev ki i pourin oil on the flames it is flattering *trying to* please the unenli htened people tempting the workers and sold rs urging them on against the Governm nt, prom sing them moun tai of good things The confiding ignorant men believe they do not re son. And from the other side come also rumours—rumours that the Dark Force the friends of the Tsar the German spies are rubb ng their h nds with glee They are ready to join the Bolsheviki and with them fan the disorders into civil war

The Bolsheviki and the ignorant soldiers a d workers seduced by them cry senselessly Down with the Government! All power to the So i ts And the Dark servants of the Tsar and the sp es of Wilhelm will eg them on Beat the Jews beat the shopkeepers ob the markets devastate the shops pillage the wine stores Sl y burn rob

A d then will begin a terrible confusion a war between one part of th people nd the other All will become still more disor ganised, and perh ps once mo e blood will be shed on the streets of the cap tal And then—what then?

10 Appeals Against Insurrection

To Workers and Soldiers

Comrades! The Dark Forces are increasingly trying to call forth in Petrograd and other towns Disorders and *Pogroms* Disorder is necessary to the Dark Forces for disorder will give them an opportunity for crushing the revolutionary movement in blood Under the pretext of establishing order and of protecting the inhabitants they hope to establish the domination of Kornilov which the revolutionary people succeeded in suppressing not long ago Woe to the people if these hopes are realised! The triumphant counter-revolution will destroy the Soviets and the Army Committees will disperse the Constituent Assembly will stop the transfer of the land to the Land Committees will put an end to all the hopes of the people for a speedy peace and will fill all the prisons with revolutionary soldiers and workers

In their calculations the counter-revolutionists and Black Hundred leaders are counting on the serious discontent of the unenlightened part of the people with the disorganisation of the food supply the continuation of the war and the general difficulties of life They hope to transform every demonstration of soldiers and workers into a *pogrom* which will frighten the peaceful population and throw it into the arms of the Restorers of Law and Order

Under such conditions every attempt to organise a demonstration in these days although for the most laudable object would be a crime All conscious workers and soldiers who are displeased with the policy of the Government will only bring injury to themselves and to the Revolution if they indulge in demonstrations

THEREFORE THE *Tsay ee kah* ASKS ALL WORKERS NOT TO OBEY ANY *CALLS TO DEMONSTRATE*

WORKERS AND SOLDIERS! DO NOT YIELD TO PROVOCATION! REMEMBER YOUR DUTY TO YOUR COUNTRY AND TO THE REVOLUTION! DO NOT BREAK THE UNITY OF THE REVOLUTIONARY FRONT BY DEMONSTRATIONS WHICH ARE BOUND TO BE UNSUCCESSFUL!

These men sincerely bel eved that the decomposition of Russia would bring about the decomposition of the whole capitalist régime Starting from that point of view they were able to commit the unconscious treason in wartime of calmly tellin, the soldiers to abandon the trenches and instead of fight ng the ex ternal enemy creating internal civil war and attackin, the proprietors and cap talists

Here Miliukov was interrupted by furious cries from the Left demanding what Socialist had ever advised such action

Martov says that only the revolutionary pressure of the proletariat can condemn and conquer the evil will of imperialist cliques nd b eak down the dictatorship of these cl ques Not by an accord between Governments for a limitation of armaments but by the disarmin of these Governments and the radical democratisation of the military system.

He att cked Martov viciously and then turned on the Men shev ki a d Socialist Revolutionaries whom he accused of entering the Government as Ministers with the avowed purpose of carrying on the class struggle!

"The Soc alists of Germany and of the Allied countries con templated these gentlemen with ill-concealed contempt, but they de ided that it was for Russia, and sent us some apostles of the Uni e sal Confl gration

"The formula of our democracy is very simple no foreign pol y no art of d plomacy an immediate democratic peace a declar t on to the Allies, We want nothing we haven t anything to fight w th And then our adversaries w ll make the same dec laration and the brotherhood of peoples will be accomplished!

Miliukov took a flin at the Zimmerwald Manifesto and declared that e en Kerensky has not been able to escape the influen e of that unhappy document which will forever be your indictment He th n attacked Skobelev whose pos tion in foreign assemblies wh e he would appear as a Russian delegate yet opposed to the fore gn pol cy of his Government would be so strange that people would s y What s that gentleman carrying and what shall we talk to h m about As for the *naka* Miliukov said that he h ms lf was a pacifist that he believed in the creation of an Inter national Arbitration Board, and the necessity for a l mitation of armaments and parliamentary control over secret d plomacy wh ch d d not me n the abol t on of secret d plomacy

As for the Socialist ideas in the *naka* which he called Stock

"Then the road to Petrograd will be open to Wilhelm Then no bread will come to Petrograd the children will die of hunger Then the Army at the front will remain without support our brothers in the trenches will be delivered to the fire of the enemy Then Russia will lose all prestige in other countries our money will lose its value everything will be so dear as to make life impossible Then the long awaited Constituent Assembly will be postponed—it will be impossible to convene it in time And then—Death to the Revolution Death to our Liberty

Is it this that you want workers and soldiers? No! If you do not then go go to the ignorant people seduced by the betrayers and tell them the whole truth which we have told you!

Let all know that EVERY MAN WHO IN THESE TERRIBLE DAYS CALLS ON YOU TO COME OUT IN THE STREETS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT IS EITHER A SECRET SERVANT OF THE TSAR A PROVOCATOR, OR AN UNWISE ASSISTANT OF THE ENEMIES OF THE PEOPLE OR A PAID SPY OF WILHELM!

"Every conscious worker revolutionist every conscious peasant every revolutionary soldier all who understand what harm a demonstration or a revolt against the Government might cause to the people must join together and not allow the enemies of the people to destroy our freedom"

The Petrograd Electoral Committee of the Mensheviki-oborontsi

11 Miliukov s Speech

Résumé

Every one admits it seems that the defence of the country is our principal task and that to assure it we must have discipline in the Army and order in the rear To achieve this there must be a power capable of daring not only by persuasion but also by force The germ of all our evils comes from the point of view original truly Russian concerning foreign policy which passes for the Internationalist point of view

"The noble Lenin only imitates the noble Keroyevsky when he holds that from Russia will come the New World which shall resuscitate the aged West and which will replace the old banner of doctrinary Socialism by the new direct action of starving masses—and that will push humanity forward and force it to break in the doors of the social paradise "

that we have no national interests and that we are fighting for alien ends.

Pav ng tribute to the All es who he said with the assistance of America will yet save the cause of humanity he ended

Lon, live the li ht of humanity the advanced democracies of the West who for a long time have been travelling the way we now only begin to enter with ill assured and hesitating steps! Long l ve our brave Allies!

12 I terv ew with Ke ensky

The Associated Press man tried his hand Mr Kerensky he began n England and F ance people are di appointed with the Re olut on——

Yes I know interrupted Kerensky quizzically Abroad the Revolut on is no longer fashionable

What is your explanation of why the Russians have stopped fighting?"

"That is a foolish question to ask Kerensky was annoyed Russia entered the war first of all the Allies and for a long time she bore the whole brunt of it. Her losses have been incon ce ably g eate than those of all the other nations put to ether Ru ha now the right to dem nd of the All es that they bring gr ater force of arm to bear He stopped for a moment and stared at his nterlocutor "You are asking why the Russians ha e stopped fighting and the Russians are asking where is the British fleet—with German battle ships in the Gulf of R ga? Again he ceased suddenly and as suddenly burst out "The Russian Revolu tion hasn t failed and the revolutionary Army hasn t failed. It is not the Re olution wh ch caused disorganisation in the army—that d o ganis tion was ccomplished years ago by the old regime Why aren t th Russians fighting I will tell you Because the mass s of the people are economically exhausted —and becau e th y are d s llusioned with the Allies!"

The interview of which this is an excerpt was cal led to the Un ted States and in a few days sent back by the American State Dep rtment with a dem nd that it be alt red This Ker nsky refus d to d but it wa do e by his secretary Dr David Soskice—and thus purged of all offensive references to the Allies was gi en to the p ess of the world

holm ideas —peace without victory the right of self-determination of peoples and renunciation of the economic war—

"The German successes are directly proportionate to the successes of those who call themselves the revolutionary democracy I do not wish to say to the successes of the Revolution because I believe that the defeats of the revolutionary democracy are victories for the Revolution

"The influence of the Soviet leaders abroad is not unimportant One had only to listen to the speech of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to be convinced that in this hall the influence of the revolutionary democracy on foreign policy is so strong that the Minister does not dare to speak face to face with it about the honour and dignity of Russia!

"We can see in the *naka* of the Soviets that the ideas of th Stockholm Manifesto have been elaborated in two directions—that of Utopianism and that of German interests

Interrupted by the angry cries of the Left and rebuked by the President Miliukov insisted that the proposition of peace concluded by popular assemblies not by diplomats and the proposal to undertake peace negotiations as soon as the enemy had renounced annexations were pro German Recently Kuhlman said that a personal declaration bound only him who made it

"Anyway we will imitate the Germans before we will imitate the Soviet of Workers and Soldiers Deputies "

The sections treating of the independence of Lithuania and Livonia were symptoms of nationalist agitation in different parts of Russia supported said Miliukov by German money

Amid bedlam from the Left he contrasted the clauses of the *naka* concerning Alsace Lorraine Rumania and Serbia with those treating of the nationalities in Germany and Austria The *naka* embraced the German and Austrian point of view said Miliukov

Passing to Tereshchenko s speech he contemptuously accused him of being afraid to speak the thought in his mind and even afraid to think in terms of the greatness of Russia The Dardanelles must belong to Russia

"You are continually saying that the soldier does not know why he is fighting and that when he does know he'll fight It is true that the soldier doesn t know why he is fighting but now you have told him that there is no reason for him to fight

demand that the Cossacks be recalled from the Don Basin *

This was followed by the dispersal of the Soviet at Kaluga The Bolsheviki having secured a majority in the Soviet set free some political prisoners With the sanction of the Government Commissar the Municipal Duma called in troops from Minsk and bombarded the Soviet head quarters with artillery The Bolsheviki yielded but as they left the building Cossacks attacked them crying This is what we ll do to all the other Bolshevik Soviets including those of Moscow and Petrograd! This incident sent a wave of panic rage throughout Russia

In Petrograd was ending a regional Congress of Soviets of the North presided over by the Bolshevik Krylenko By an immense majority it resolved that all power should be assumed by the All Russian Congress and concluded by greeting the Bolsheviki in prison bidding them *rejoice for* the hour of their liberation was at hand At the same time the first All Russian Conference of Factory Shop Committees[1] declared emphatically for the Soviets and continued significantly

> After liberating themselves politically from Tsardom the working class wants to see the democratic regime triumphant in the sphere of its productive activity This is best expressed by Workers Control over industrial production which nat urally arose in the atmophere of economic decomposition created by the criminal policy of the dominating classes

The Union of Railwaymen was demanding the resignation of Liverovsky Minister of Ways and Communications

The Don Bas w th hom f th Don Cos ks nd ne th the Cent l E cu i Comm tee of th Sov or th P vi ional Go nm nt could nceivably h ve dem d d th t th y be call d f om th Don. Compar on thus Joh Reed wn ccou in Ch pte II f th Gov rn-ment ogni ion f th Council of th U i of C ssack Arm —*Ed*

CHAPTER III

ON THE EVE

In the relations of a weak Government and a rebellious people there comes a time when every act of the author ities exasperates the masses and every refusal to act ex cites their contempt

The proposal to abandon Petrograd raised a hurricane Kerensky s public denial that the Government had any such intention was met with hoots of derision

Pinned to the wall by the pressure of the Revolution (cried *Rabochi Put*) the Government of provisional bourgeois tries to get free by giving out lying assurances that it never thought of fleeing from Petrograd and that it didn t wish to surrender the capital

In Kharkov thirty thousand coal miners organised adopting the preamble of the I W W constitution The working class and the employing class have nothing in common Dispersed by Cossacks some were locked out by the mine owners and the rest declared a general strike Minister of Commerce and Industry Konovalov appointed his assistant Orlov with plenary powers to settle the trouble Orlov was hated by the miners But the *Tsay ee kah* not only supported his appointment but refused to

Both in Russia and abroad the sensation was tremendous Verkhovsky was given indefinite leave of absence for ill health and left the Government Obshchee Dielo was suppressed

Sunday November 4th was designated as the Day of the Petrograd Soviet with immense meetings planned all over the city ostensibly to raise money for the organisation and the press really to make a demonstration of strength Suddenly it was announced that on the same day the Cossacks would hold a *Krestny Khod*—Procession of the Cross—in honour of the Ikon of 1612 through whose miraculous intervention Napoleon had been driven from Moscow The atmosphere was electric a spark might kindle civil war The Petrograd Soviet issued a manifesto headed Brothers—Cossacks!

> You Cossacks are being incited against us workers and soldiers This plan of Cain is being put into operation by our common enemies the oppressors the privil ed classes—generals bankers landlords former officials former servants of th Tsar We are hated by all grafters rich men princes nobles generals including your Cossack generals They are ready at any moment to destroy the Petrograd So iet and rush the Revolution
>
> On the 4th of November somebody is organising a Cossack reli ous procession It is a question of the free consciousness of every individual whether he will or will not take part in this procession We do not interfere in this matter nor do we obstruct anybody However we warn you Cossacks! Look out and see to it that under the pretext of a Krestni Khod your Kaledins do not insti ate you against workmen against soldiers

The procession was hastily called off

In the barracks and the working-class quarters of the

In the name of the *Tsay ee kah* Skobelev insisted that *the nakaz be presented at the Allied Conference and* formally protested against the sending of Tereshchenko to Paris Tereshchenko offered to resign

General Verkhovsky unable to accomplish his reorganisation of the army, only came to Cabinet meetings at long intervals

On November 3d Burtzev s *Obshchee Dielo* came out with great headlines

> Citizens! Save the fatherland!
>
> I have just learned that yesterday at a meeting of the Commission for National Defence Minister of War General Verkhovsky one of the principal persons responsible for the fall of Kornilov proposed to sign a separate peace independently of the Allies
>
> That is treason to Russia!
>
> Tereshchenko declared that the Provisional Government had not even examined Verkhovsky s proposition
>
> *You might think said Tereshchenko that we were in* a madhouse!
>
> The members of the Commission were astounded at the General s words
>
> General Alexeyev wept
>
> No! It is not madness! It is worse It is direct treason to Russia!
>
> Kerensky Tereshchenko and Nekrasov must immediately answer us concerning the words of Verkhovsky
>
> *Citizens* arise!
>
> Russia is being sold!
>
> Save her!

What Verkhovsky really said was that the Allies must be pressed to offer peace because the Russian army could fight no longer

БРАТЬЯ-КАЗАКИ!

Appeal of the Petrograd Soviet to the Cossacks to call off their *Krestny Khod*—the religious procession planned for November 4th (our calendar). Brothers—Cossacks! it begins. "The Petrograd Soviet of Workers and Soldiers Deputies addresses you . . ."

town the Bolsheviki were preaching All Power to the Soviets! and agents of the Dark Forces were urging the people to rise and slaughter the Jews shop keepers Socialist leaders

On one side the Monarchist press inciting to bloody repression—on the other Lenin s great voice roaring Insurrection! We cannot wait any longer!

Even the bourgeois press was uneasy *Birzhevya Viedomosti* (Exchange Gazette) called the Bolshevik propaganda an attack on the most elementary principles of society—personal security and the respect for private property

But it was the moderate Socialist journals which were the most hostile [3] The Bolsheviki are the most dangerous enemies of the Revolution declared *Dielo Naroda* Said the Menshevik *Dien* The Government ought to defend itself and defend us Plekhanov s paper *Yedinstvo* (Unity) [4] called the attention of the Government to the fact that the Petrograd workers were being armed and demanded stern measures against the Bolsheviki

Daily the Government seemed to become more helpless Even the Municipal administration broke down The columns of the morning papers were filled with accounts of the most audacious robberies and murders and the criminals were unmolested

On the other hand armed workers patrolled the streets at night doing battle with marauders and requisitioning arms wherever they found them

On the first of November Colonel Polkovnikov Military Commander of Petrograd issued a proclamation

Despite the difficult days through which the country is passing irresponsible appeals to armed demonstrations and

Declaring that these were two aspects of the same propa anda which had for its object the counter revolu tion so ardently desired by the Dark Forces he went on

I am a doomed man it doesn t matter what happens to me and I have the audacity to say that the other enigmatic part is that of the unbelievable provocation created in the city by the Bolsheviki[1]

On November 2d only fifteen delegates to the Congress of Soviets had arrived Next day there were a hundred and the mornin, after that a hundred and seventy five of whom one hundred and three were Bolsheviki Four hundred constituted a quorum and the Congress was only three days off

I spent a great deal of time at Smolny It was no longer easy to get in Double rows of sentries guarded the outer gates and once insid the front door there was a long line of people waiting to be let in four at a time to be ques tioned as to their identity and their business Passes were given out and the pass system was chan,ed every few hours for spies continually sneaked throu,h

One day as I came up to the outer gate I saw Trotsky and his wife just ahead of me They were halted by a soldier Trotsky searched throu,h his pockets but could find no pass

Never mind he said finally You know me My name is Trotsky

You haven t got a pass answered the soldier stubbornly You cannot go in Names don t mean anythin, to me

But I am the president of the Petro rad Soviet

Well replied the soldier if you re as important a fellow as that you must at least have one little paper

Trotsky was very patient Let me see the Comman dant he said The soldier hesitated grumbling somethin

massacres are still being spread around Petrograd and from day to day *robbery and disorder increase*

This state of things is disorganising the life of the citizens, and hinders the systematic work of the Government and the Municipal Institutions

In full consciousness of my responsibility and my duty before my country I command

1 Every military unit in accordance with special instructions and within the territory of its garrison to afford every assistance to the Municipality to the Commissars and to the militia in the guarding of Government institutions

2 The organisation of patrols in co operation with the District Commander and the representatives of the city militia and the taking of measures for the arrest of criminals and deserters

3 The arrest of all persons entering barracks and incitin to armed demonstrations and massacres and their delivery to the headquarters of the Second Commander of the city

4 To suppress any armed demonstration or riot at its start with all armed forces at hand

5 To afford assistance to the Commissars in preventing unwarranted searches in houses and unwarranted arrests

6 To report immediately all that happens in the district under charge to the Staff of the Petrograd Military District

I call upon all Army Committees and organisations to afford their help to the commanders in fulfilment of the duties with which they are charged

In the Council of the Republic Kerensky declared that *the Government* was fully aware of the Bolshevik preparations and had sufficient force to cope with any demonstration [5] He accused *Novaya Rus* and *Rabochi Put* of both doing the same kind of subversive work But owing to the absolute freedom of the press he added the Government is not in a position to combat printed lies *

This was not quite a d d Th P o l io l Go mm t h d supp e sed B l he k p pers befo e in J ly and wa pl nl g to do so again

about not wanting to disturb the Commandant for every devil that came along He beckoned finally to the soldier in command of the guard Trotsky explained matters to him My name is Trotsky he repeated

'Trotsky? The other soldier scratched his head I ve heard the name somewhere he said at length I guess it s all right You can go on in comrade "

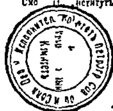
In the corridor I met Karakhan member of the Bolshevik Central Committee who explained to me what the new Government would be like

A loose organisation sensitive to the popular will as expressed through the Soviets allowing local forces full play At present the Provisional Government obstructs the action of the local democratic will just as the Tsar s Government did The initiative of the new society shall come from below The form of the Government will be modelled on the Constitution of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party The new *Tsay-ee kah* responsible to frequent meetings of the All Russian Congress of Soviets will be the parliament the various Ministries will be headed by *collegia*—committees—instead of by Ministers and will be directly responsible to the Soviets "

On October 30th by appointment I went up to a small bare room in the attic of Smolny to talk with Trotsky In the middle of the room he sat on a rough chair at a bare table Few questions from me were necessary he talked rapidly and steadily for more than an hour The substance of his talk in his own words I give here

The Provisional Government is absolutely powerless The bourgeoisie is in control but this control is masked by a fictitious coalition with the *oborontsi* parties Now during the Revolution one sees revolts of peasants who are

Военно Революціон
Комитетъ
при
ПЕТР С Р и С Д.
Ком н н На дъ ъ
16 ноября 1917 г
№ 955
Смо ы Институтъ



Пропускъ

Дано сие - Джону Рееду
— Корресп а мер соц прес
срокомъ по 1 Декабря
на право свободнаго входа въ Смоль
ный Институтъ

Комендантъ Ф Дзержинский

Дѣлопроизводитель

Pass to Smolny Institute issued by the Military Revolutionary Committee giving me the right of entry at any time

TRANSLATION

Military Revolutionary Committee
attached to the
Petrograd Soviet of W & S D
Commandant s office
16th November 1917
No 955
Smolny Institute

PASS

Is given by the present to John Reed correspondent of the American Socialist press until December 1 the right of free entry into Smolny Institute

Commandant
Adjutant

The signat e of the Command nt on Reed s pa s is th t of F Dzerzhinsky soo to be n med by Lenin head of the *Ch k* Th s Re d s document establ hes th t Dzerzh ky was even then as uml g pol ce f ctions as Comm ndant of Smolny wh h had been mil ta ized on becoming the he d uarte s of the Mil ta y R ol ti nary Committee —*Ed*

Our first act will be to call for an immediate armistice on all fronts and a conference of peoples to discuss democratic peace terms The quantity of democracy we get in the peace settlement depends on the quantity of revolutionary response there is in Europe If we create here a Government of the Soviets that will be a powerful factor for immediate peace in Europe for this Government will address itself directly and immediately to all peoples over the heads of their Governments proposing an armistice At the moment of the conclusion of peace the pressure of the Russian Revolution will be in the direction of no annexations no indemnities the right of self determination of peoples and a *Federated Republic of Europe*

At the end of this war I see Europe recreated not by the diplomats but by the proletariat The Federated Republic of Europe—the United States of Europe—that is what must be National autonomy no longer suffices Economic evolution demands the abolition of national frontiers If Europe is to remain split into national groups then Imperialism will recommence its work Only a Federated Republic of Europe can give peace to the world He smiled—that fine faintly ironical smile of his But without the action of the European masses these ends cannot be realised—now

Now while everybody was waiting for the Bolsheviki to appear suddenly on the streets one morning and begin to shoot down people with white collars on the real insurrection took its way quite naturally and openly

The Provisional Government planned to send the Petrograd garrison to the front

The Petrograd garrison numbered about sixty thousand

tired of waiting for their promised land and all over the country in all the toiling classes the same disgust is evident This domination by the bourgeoisie is only possible by means of civil war The Kornilov method is the only way by which the bourgeoisie can control But it is force *which the bourgeoisie lacks* The Army is with us The conciliators and pacifists Socialist Revolutionaries and Mensheviki have lost all authority—because the struggle between the peasants and the landlords between the workers and the employers between the soldiers and the officers has become more bitter more irreconcilable than ever Only by the concerted action of the popular mass only by the victory of proletarian dictatorship can the Revolution be achieved and the people saved

The Soviets are the most perfect representatives of the people—perfect in their revolutionary experience in their ideas and objects Based directly upon the army in the trenches the workers in the factories and the peasants in the fields they are the backbone of the Revolution

There has been an attempt to create a power without the Soviets—and only powerlessness has been created Counter revolutionary schemes of all sorts are now bein hatched in the corridors of the Council of the Russian Republic The Cadet party represents the counter revolution militant On the other side the Soviets represent the cause of the people Between the two camps there are no groups of serious importance It is the *lutte finale* The bourgeois counter revolution organises all its forces and waits for the moment to attack us Our answer will be decisive We will complete the work scarcely begun in March and advanced during the Kornilov affair

He went on to speak of the new Government s foreign policy

tion of a special Military Committee to decide the whole question The next day a meeting of the Soldiers Section of the Petrograd Soviet elected a Committee which im mediately proclaimed a boycott of the bourgeois news papers and condemned the *Tsay ee kah* for opposing the Congress of Soviets On the 29th in open session of the Petrograd Soviet Trotsky propo ed that the Soviet for mally sanction the Military Revolutionary Committee We ought he said to create our special organisation to march to battle and if necessary to die It was decided to send to th front two delegations one from the Soviet and one from the garrison to confer with the Soldiers Committees and the General Staff

At Pskov the Soviet delegates were met by General Cheremissov commander of the Northern Front with the curt declaration that he had ordered the Petro rad garri son to the trenches and that was all The garrison com mittee was not allowed to leave Petrograd

A dele ation of the Soldiers Section of the Petrograd Sovi t asked that a r presentative be admitted to the Staff of the Petrograd District Refus d The Petro rad Soviet demanded that no orders be is ued without the approval of the Soldiers Section Refused The delegates were roughly told We only recognise the *Tsay-ee kah* We do not recognise you if you break any laws we shall arrest you

On the 30th a meeting of representatives of all the Petrograd regiments passed a resolution *The Petrograd garrison no longer recognises the Provisional Government The Petrograd Soviet is our Government We will obey only the orders of the Petrograd Soviet through the Mil itary Revolutionary Committee* The local military units were ordered to wait for instructions from the Soldiers Section of the Petrograd Soviet

men who had taken a prominent part in the Revolution It was they who had turned the tide in the great days of March created the Soviets of Soldiers Deputies and hurled back Kornilov from the gates of Petrograd

Now a large part of them were Bolsheviki When the Provisional Government talked of evacuating the city it was the Petrograd garrison which answered If you are not capable of defending the capital conclude peace if you cannot conclude peace go away and make room for a People s Government which can do both

It was evident that any attempt at insurrection depended upon the attitude of the Petrograd garrison The Government s plan was to replace the garrison regiments with dependable troops—Cossacks Death Battalions The *Army Committees the moderate Socialists and the Tsay ee kah* supported the Government A wide spread agitation was carried on at the Front and in Petrograd emphasizing the fact that for eight months the Petrograd garrison had been leading an easy life in the barracks of the capital while their exhausted comrades in the trenches starved and died

Naturally there was some truth in the accusation that the garrison regiments were reluctant to exchange their comparative comfort for the hardships of a winter campaign But there were other reasons why they refused to go The Petrograd Soviet feared the Government s intentions and from the Front came hundreds of delegates chosen by the common soldiers crying It is true we need reinforcements but more important we must know that Petrograd and the Revolution are well guarded Do you hold the rear comrades and we will hold the front!

On October 25th behind closed doors the Central Committee of the Petrograd Soviet discussed the forma

Military Revolutionary Committee attached to the Petrograd Soviet of Workers and Soldiers Deputies

To the Population of Petro_rad Citizens!

Counter revolution has raised its criminal head The Kornilovt i are mobilising their forces in order to crush the All Russian Congress of Soviets and break the Constituent Assembly At the same time the *pogromists* may attempt to call upon the people of Petrograd for trouble and bloodshed The Petrograd Soviet of Workers and Soldiers Deputies takes upon itself the guardin of revolutionary order in th city a ainst counter revolutionary and *pogrom* attempts

The Petrograd garrison will not allow any violence or disorders The population is invited to arrest hooligans and Black Hundred agitators and take them to the Soviet Commissars at the nearest barracks At the first attempt *of the Dark Forces* to make trouble on the streets of Petrograd whether robbery or fightin the criminals will be wiped off the face of the earth!

Citizens! We call upon you to maintain complete quiet and self possession The cause of order and Revolution is in strong hands

List of regiments where there are Commissars of the Military Revolutionary Committee

On the 3rd the leaders of the Bolsheviki had another historic meeting behind clo ed doors Notified by Zalkind I waited in the corridor outside the door and Volodarsky as he came out told me what was going on

Lenin spoke November 6th will be too early We must have an all Russian basis for the risin_ and on the 6th all the dele_at s to the Con_ress will not have arrived On the other hand November 8th will be too late By that time the Congress will be organised and it is difficult for a large organised body of people to take

Next day the Tsay-ee kah summoned its own meeting composed largely of officers formed a Committee to cooperate with the Staff and detailed Commissars in all quarters of the city

A great soldier meeting at Smolny on the 3d resolved

> Saluting the creation of the Military Revolutionary Committee the Petrograd garrison promises it complete support in all its actions to unite more closely the front and the rear in the interests of the Revolution
>
> The garrison moreover declares that with the revolutionary proletariat it assures the maintenance of revolutionary order *in Petrograd Every attempt at provocation on the part of the* Kornilovtsi or the bourgeoisie will be met with merciless resistance

Now conscious of its power the Military Revolutionary Committee peremptorily summoned the Petrograd Staff to submit to its control To all printing plants it gave orders not to publish any appeals or proclamations without the Committee s authorisation Armed Commissars visited the Kronversk arsenal and seized great quantities of arms and ammunition halting a shipment of ten thousand bayonets which was being sent to Novocherkask headquarters of Kaledin

Suddenly awake to the danger the Government offered immunity if the Committee would disband Too late At midnight November 5th Kerensky himself sent Malevsky to offer the Petrograd Soviet representation on the Staff The Military Revolutionary Committee accepted An hour later General Manikovsky acting Minister of war countermanded the offer

Tuesday morning November 6th the city was thrown into excitement by the appearance of a placard signed

Russian Republic Bitter debate on Tereshchenko s foreign policy Echoes of the Burtzev Verkhovski affair All the diplomats present except the Italian ambassador who everybody said was prostrated by the Corso disaster

As I came in the Left Socialist Revolutionary Karelin was readin_ aloud an editorial from the London *Times* which said The remedy for Bolshevism is bullets! Turn ing to the Cadets he cried 'That s what *you* think too!"

Voices from the Ri_ht, Yes! Yes!

Yes I know you think so answered Karelin, hotly But you haven t the courage to try it!

Then Skobelev looking like a matinee idol with his soft blond beard and wavy yellow hair rather apolo_etically defending the Soviet *nakaz* Tereshchenko followed as sailed from the Left by cries of Resignation! Resigna tion! He insisted that the delegates of the Government and of the *Tsay-ee kah* to Paris should have a common point of view—his own A few words about the restora tion of discipline in the army about war to victory Tumult and over the stubborn opposition of the truculent Left the Council of the Republic passed to the simple order of the day

There stretched the rows of Bolshevik seats—empty since that first day when they left the Council carrying with them so much life As I went down the stairs it seemed to me that in spite of the bitter wran_ling no real voice from the rough world outside could penetrate this high cold hall and that the Provisional Government was wrecked—on the same rock of War and Peace that had wrecked the Miliukov Ministry The doorman grum bled as he put on my coat I don t know what is becom in of poor Russia All these Mensheviki and Bolsheviki and Trudoviki This Ukraine and this Finland and the German imperialists and the English imperialists I am

swift decisive action We must act on the 7th the day the Congress meets so that we may say to it Here is the power! What are you going to do with it?

In a certain upstairs room sat a thin faced long haired individual once an officer in the armies of the Tsar then revolutionist and exile a certain Ovseenko called Antonov mathematician and chess player he was drawing careful plans for the seizure of the capital

On its side the Government was preparing Inconspicuously certain of the most loyal regiments from widely separated divisions were ordered to Petrograd The *yunker** artillery was drawn into the Winter Palace Patrols of Cossacks made their appearance in the streets for the first time since the July days Polkovnikov issued order after order threatening to repress all insubordination *with the utmost energy* Kishkin *Minister of Public* Instruction the worst hated member of the Cabinet, was appointed Special Commissar to keep order in Petrograd he named as assistants two men no less unpopular Rutenburg and Palchinsky Petrograd Cronstadt and Finland were declared in a state of siege—upon which the bourgeois *Novoye Vremya* (New Times) remarked ironically

Why the state of siege? The Government is no longer a power It has no moral authority and it does not possess the necessary apparatus to use force In the most favourable circumstances it can only negotiate with any one who consents to parley Its authority goes no farther

Monday morning the 5th I dropped in at the Marinsky Palace to see what was happening in the Council of the

* *Yunk* is the official term for a student in an officers training school similar to our West Point cadet During the war so many officers perished that many such training schools were set up with students drawn from all classes of the population and soldiers and non-commissioned officers who showed exception I promise —*Ed*

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forty five years old and in all my life I never heard so many words as in this place

In the corridor I met Professor Shatsky a rat faced individual in a dapper frock coat very influential in the councils of the Cadet party I asked him what he thought of the much talked of Bolshevik *vystuplenie* He shrugged sneering

They are cattle—*canaille* he answered They will not dare or if they dare they will soon be sent flying From our point of view it will not be bad for then they will ruin themselves and have no power in the Constituent Assembly

But my dear sir allow me to outline to you my plan for a form of Government to be submitted to the Constituent Assembly You see I am chairman of a commission appointed from this body in conjunction with the Provisional Government to work out a constitutional project We will have a legislative assembly of two chambers, such as you have in the United States In the lower chamber will be territorial representatives in the upper representatives of the liberal professions zemstvos Cooperatives—and Trade Unions

Outside a chill damp wind came from the west and the cold mud underfoot soaked through my shoes Two companies of *yunkers* passed swinging up the Morskaya tramping stiffly in their long coats and singing an oldtime crashing chorus such as the soldiers used to sing under the Tsar At the first cross street I noticed that the City Militiamen were mounted and armed with revolvers in bright new holsters a little group of people stood silently staring at them At the corner of the Nevsky I bought a pamphlet by Lenin Will the Bolsheviki be Able to Hold the Power? paying for it with one of the stamps which did

duty for small chan_ge The usual street-cars crawled past citizens and soldiers clin in_ to the outside in a way to make Theodore P Shonts green with envy Along the sidewalk a row of deserters in uniform sold cigarettes and sunflower seeds

Up the Nevsky in the sour twili_ght crowds were bat thin_ for the latest papers and knots of people were tryin_ to make out the multitudes of appeals[6] and proclamations pasted in every flat place from the *Tsay ee kah* the Peas ants Soviets the moderate Socialist parties the Army Committees—threatening cursin_ beseeching the workers and soldiers to stay home to support the Govern ment

An armoured automobile went slowly up and down siren screamin_ On every corner in every open space thick groups were clustered arguing soldiers and students Ni ht came swiftly down the wide spaced street li_ghts flickered on the tides of people flowed endlessly It i always like that in Petrograd just before trouble

The city was nervous starting at every sharp sound But still no sign from the Bolsheviki the soldiers stayed in the barracks the workmen in the factories We went to a moving picture show near the Kazan Cathedral—a bloody Italian film of passion and intrigue Down front were some soldiers and sailors staring at the screen in childlike wonder totally unable to comprehend why there should be so much violent running about and so much homicide

From there I hurried to Smolny In room 10 on the top floor the Military Revolutionary Committee sat in con tinuous session under the chairmanship of a tow headed ei hteen year-old boy named Lazimir He stopped as he passed to shake hands rather bashfully

Peter Paul Fortress has just come over to us said he with a pleased grin A minute ago we got word from a regiment that was ordered by the Government to come to Petrograd The men were suspicious so they stopped the train at Gatchina and sent a delegation to us What s the matter? they asked What have you got to say? We have just passed a resolution All Power to the Soviets The Military Revolutionary Committee sent back word Brothers! We greet you in the name of the Revolution Stay where you are until further instructions! "

All telephones he said were cut off but communication with the factories and barracks was established by means of military telephonograph apparatus

A steady stream of couriers and Commissars came and went Outside the door waited a dozen volunteers ready to carry word to the farthest quarters of the city One of them a gypsy faced man in the uniform of a lieutenant, said in French Everything is ready to move at the push of a button

There passed Podvoisky the thin bearded civilian whose brain conceived the strategy of insurrection * Antonov unshaven his collar filthy drunk with loss of sleep Krylenko the squat wide faced soldier always smiling with his violent gestures and tumbling speech and Dybenko the giant bearded sailor with the placid face These were the men of the hour—and of other hours to come

Downstairs in the office of the Factory Shop Committees sat Seratov signing orders on the Government Arsenal for arms—one hundred and fifty rifles for each factory

Delegates waited in line forty of them

In the hall I ran into some of the minor Bolshevik

This overrat s Pod o sky The h f pl n r of the rrection at t gv was n ne of the fo r m n m ntioned n this p ragr ph b t th Ch irm n of th Petrog ad So t a d x *offi io* head of the M l ary Re ol tion ry Committee Leon T otsky —*Ed*

leaders One showed me a revolver 'The game is on he said and his face was pale Whether we move or not the other side knows it must finish us or be finished

The Petrograd Soviet was meeting day and night As I came into the great hall Trotsky was just finishing

We are asked he said if we intend to have a vystuplenie I can give a clear answer to that question The Petro rad Soviet feels that at last the moment has arrived when the power must fall into the hands of the Soviets This transfer of government will be accomplished by the All Russian Con ress Whether an armed demonstration is necessary will depend on those who wish to interfere with the All Russian Congress

We feel that our Government entrusted to the personnel of the Provisional Cabinet is a pitiful and helpless Government which only awaits the sweep of the broom of History to give way to a really popular Government But we are tryin to avoid a conflict even now to-day We hope that the All Russian Con ress will take into its hands that power and authority which rests upon the organised freedom of the people If however th Government wants to utilise the short period it is expected to live—twenty four forty eight or eventy two hours—to attack us then we shall answer with counter attacks blow for blow steel for iron! "

Amid cheers he announced that the Left Socialist Revolutionaries had agreed to send representatives into the Military Revolutionary Committee

As I left Smolny at three o clock in the morning I noticed that two rapid firing guns had been mounted one on each side of the door and that stron patrols of soldiers guarded the gates and the near by street-corners Bill Shatov* came bounding up the steps Well" he cried

* Well k wn in the America l bor m vement

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* This overrates Podvoisky The chief planner of the insurrection strategy was none of the four men mentioned in this paragraph but the Chairman of the Petrograd Soviet and *ex officio* head of the Military Revolutionary Committee Leon Trotsky —*Ed*

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* W ll kn wn in the Am ican labo movement.

We're off! Kerensky sent the *yunkers* to close down our papers *Soldat* and *Rabochi Put* But our troops went down and smashed the Government seals and now we're sending detachments to seize the bourgeois newspaper offices! Exultantly he slapped me on the shoulder and ran in

On the morning of the 6th I had business with the censor whose office was in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Everywhere on all the walls hysterical appeals to the people to remain calm Polkovnikov emitted *prika* after *prikaz*

I order all military units and detachments to remain in their barracks until further orders from the Staff of the Military district All officers who act without orders from their superiors will be court martialled for mutiny I forbid absolutely any execution by soldiers of instructions from other organisations

The morning papers announced that the Government had suppressed the papers *Novaya Rus* *Zhivoye Slovo* *Rabochi Put* and *Soldat* * and decreed the arrest of the leaders of the Petrograd Soviet and the members of the Military Revolutionary Committee

As I crossed the Palace Square several batteries of *yunker* artillery came through the Red Arch at a jingling trot and drew up before the Palace The great red building of the General Staff was unusually animated several armoured automobiles ranked before the door and motors full of officers were coming and going The censor was very much excited like a small boy at a circus

No y Rus and *Zhl oy Sl o* w r e t me re ctl n ry p pe s d *R bochl P t* nd *Sold t* e B l hc ik —*Ed*

Kerensky he said had just gone to the Council of the Republic to offer his resignation I hurried down to the Marinsky Palace arriving at the end of that passionate and almost incoherent speech of Kerensky s full of self justification and bitter denunciation of his enemies

I will cite here the most characteristic passage from a whole series of articles published in *Rabochi Put* by Ulianov Lenin a state criminal who is in hiding and whom we are trying to find This state criminal has invited the proletariat and the Petrograd garrison to repeat the experience of the 16th 18th of July and insists upon the immediate necessity for an armed rising Moreover other Bolshevik leaders have taken the floor in a series of meetings and also made an appeal to immediate insurrec tion Particularly should be noticed the activity of the present president of the Petrograd Soviet Bronstein Trotsky

I ought to bring to your notice that the expres sions and the style of a whole series of articles in *Rabochi Put* and *Soldat* resemble absolutely those of *Novaya Rus*

We have to do not so much with the movement of such and such political party as with the exploitation of the political ignorance and criminal instincts of a part of the population a sort of organisation whose object it is to provoke in Russia cost what it may an inconscient movement of destruction and pillage for given the state of mind of the masses any movement at Petrograd will be followed by the most terrible massacres which will cover with eternal shame the name of free Russia

By the admission of Ulianov Lenin himself the s tuation of the extreme left wing of the Social Democrats in Rus ia is very favourable (Here Kerensky read the following quotation from Lenin s article)

Think of it! The German comrades have only one Liebknecht without newspapers without freedom of meeting without a Soviet They are opposed by the incredible hostility of all classes of society—and yet the German comrades try to act while we having dozens of newspapers freedom of meeting the majority of the Soviets we the best placed international proletarians of the entire world can we refuse to support the German revolutionists and insurrectionary organisations?

Kerensky then continued

The organisers of rebellion recognise thus implicitly that the most perfect conditions for the free action of a political party obtain now in Russia administered by a Provisional Government at the head of which is in the eyes of this party a usurper and a man who has sold himself to the bourgeoisie the Minister President Kerensky

The organisers of the insurrection do not come to the aid of the German proletariat but of the German governing classes and they open the Russian front to the iron fists of Wilhelm and his friends Little matter to the Provisional Government the motives of these people little matter if they act consciously or unconsciously but in any case from this tribune in full consciousness of my responsibility I qualify such acts of a Russian political party as acts of treason to Russia!

• I place myself at the point of view of the Right and I propose immediately to proceed to an investigation and make the necessary arrests (Uproar from the Left) Listen to me' he cried in a powerful voice At the moment when the state is in danger because of conscious or unconscious treason the Provisional Government and myself among others prefer to be killed rather

than betray the life the honour and the independence of Russia

At this moment a paper was handed to Kerensky

I have just received the proclamation which they are distributing to the regiments Here is the contents Read it

The Petrograd Soviet of Workers and Soldiers Deputies is menaced We order immediately the regiments to mobilise on a war footing and to await new orders All delay or non execution of this order will be considered as an act of treason to the Revolution The Military Revolutionary Committee For the President Podvoisky The Secretary Antonov

In reality this is an attempt to raise the populace* against the existing order of things to break the Constituent and to open the front to the regiments of the iron fist of Wilhelm

I say populace * intentionally because the conscious democracy and its *Tsay ee kah* all the Army organisations all that free Russia glorifies the good sense the honour and the conscience of the great Russian democracy protests against these things

I have not come here with a prayer but to state my firm conviction that the Provisional Government which defends at this moment our new liberty—that the new Russian state destined to a brillant future will find unanimous support except among those who have never dared to face the truth

The Provisional Government has never violated the liberty of all citizens of the State to use their political rights But now the Provisional Government declares in this moment those elements of the Russian

* Th word K nsky used means *abbl* or *m b*—*Ed*

nation those groups and parties who have dared to lift their hands against the free will of the Russian people at the same time threatening to open the front to Germany must be liquidated with decision!

Let the population of Petrograd understand that it will encounter a firm power and perhaps at the last moment good sense conscience and honour will triumph in the hearts of those who still possess them

All through this speech the hall rang with deafening clamour When the Minister President had stepped down pale faced and wet with perspiration and strode out with his suite of officers speaker after speaker from the Left and Centre attacked the Right all one angry roaring Even the Socialist Revolutionaries through Gotz

The policy of the Bolsheviki is demagogic and criminal in their exploitation of the popular discontent But there is a whole series of popular demands which have received no satisfaction up to now The questions of peace land and the democratization of the army ought to be stated in such a fashion that no soldier peasant or worker would have the least doubt that our Government is attempting firmly and infallibly to solve them

We Mensheviki do not wish to provoke a Cabinet crisis and we are ready to defend the Provisional Government with all our energy to the last drop of our blood—if only the Provisional Government on all these burning questions will speak the clear and precise words awaited by the people with such impatience

Then Martov furious

The words of the Minister President who allowed himself to speak of populace when it is question of the movement of important sections of the proletariat and the army—although led in the wrong direction—are nothing but an incitement to civil war

The order of the day proposed by the Left was voted It amounted practically to a vote of lack of confidence

1 The armed demonstration which has been preparing for some days past has for its object a *coup d'etat* threatens to provoke civil war creates conditions favourable to *pogroms* and counter revolution the mobilization of counter revolutionary forces such as the Black Hundreds which will inevitably bring about the impossibility of convokin the Constituent, will cause a military catastrophe the death of the Revolution paralyse the economic life of the country and d-stroy Russia

2 The conditions favourable to this agitation have been created by delay in passin ur ent measures as well as objective conditions caused by the war and the general disorder It is necessary before everythin, to promulgate at onc a decree transmitting the land to the peasants Land Committees and to adopt an energetic course of action abroad in proposing to the Allies to proclaim their peace terms and to begin peace parleys

3 To cope with Monarchist manifestations and *pogromist* movements it is indispensable to take immediate measures to suppress these movements and for this purpose to creat at Petrograd a Committee of Public Safety composed of representatives of the Municipality and the organs of the revolutionary democracy acting in contact with the Provisional Government.

It is interesting to note that the Mensheviki and Socialist Revolutionaries all rallied to this resolution When Kerensky saw it however he summoned Avksentiev to the Winter Palace to explain If it expressed a lack of confidence in the Provisional Government, he begged Avksentiev to form a new Cabinet Dan Gotz and Avksentiev the leaders of the compromisers performed their last compromise They explained to Kerensky that it was not meant as a criticism of the Government!

At the corner of the Morskaya and the Nevsky squads of soldiers with fixed bayonets were stopping all private automobiles turning out the occupants and ordering them toward the Winter Palace A large crowd had gathered to watch them Nobody knew whether the soldiers belonged to the Government or the Military Revolutionary Committee Up in front of the Kazan Cathedral the same thing was happening machines being directed back up the Nevsky Five or six sailors with rifles came along laughing excitedly and fell into conversation with two of the soldiers On the sailors hat bands were *Avrora* and *Zaria Svobody*—the names of the leading Bolshevik cruisers of the Baltic Fleet One of them said Cronstadt is coming! It was as if in 1792 on the streets of Paris some one had said The Marseillais are coming! For at Cronstadt were twenty five thousand sailors convinced Bolsheviki and not afraid to die

Rabochi i Soldat was just out, all its front page one huge proclamation

SOLDIERS! WORKERS! CITIZENS!

The enemies of the people passed last night to the offensive The Kornilovists of the Staff are trying to draw in from the suburbs *yunkers* and volunteer battalions The Oranienbaum *yunkers* and the Tsarskoye Selo volunteers refused to come out A stroke of high treason is being contemplated against the Petrograd Soviet The campaign of the counter revolutionists is being directed against the All Russian Congress of Soviets on the eve of its opening against the Constituent Assembly against the people The Petrograd Soviet is guarding the Revolution The Military Revolutionary Committee is directing the repulse of the conspirators attack The entire garrison and proletariat of Petrograd are ready to deal the enemy of the people a crushing blow

The Military Revolutionary Committee decrees

1 All regimental division and battle ship Committees together with the Soviet Commissars and all revolutionary organizations shall meet in continuous session concentrating in their hands all information about the plans of the con spirators

2 Not one soldier shall leave his division without per mission of the Committee

3 To send to Smolny at once two delegates from each military unit and five from each Ward Soviet

4 All members of the Petrograd Soviet and all dele ates to the All Russian Congress are invited immediately to Smolny for an extraordinary meeting

Counter revolution has raised its criminal head

A great danger threatens all the conquests and hopes of the soldiers and workers

But the forces of the Revolution by far exceed those of its enemies

The cause of the People is in strong hands The conspira tors will be crushed

No hesitation or doubts! Firmness steadfastness discipline determination!

Long live the Revolution!

The Military Revolutionary Committee

The Petrograd Soviet was meetin, continuously at Smolny a centre of storm delegates falling down asleep on the floor and rising a,ain to take part in the debate Trotsky Kamenev Volodarsky speaking six eight twelve hours a day

I went down to room 18 on the first floor where the Bolshevik delegates were holding caucus a harsh voice steadily booming the speaker hidden by the crowd The compromisers say that we are isolated Pay no attention to them Once it begins they must be dragged along with us or else lose their following

Here be held up a piece of paper "We are dragging

them! A message has just come from the Mensheviki and Socialist Revolutionaries! They say that they condemn our action but that if the Government attacks us they will not oppose the cause of the proletariat! Exultant shouting

As night fell the great hall filled with soldiers and workmen a monstrous dun mass deep humming in a blue haze of smoke The old *Tsay ee kah* had finally decided to welcome the delegates to that new Congress which would mean its own ruin—and perhaps the ruin of the revolutionary order it had built At this meeting however only members of the *Tsay ee kah* could vote

It was after midnight when Gotz took the chair and Dan rose to speak in a tense silence which seemed to me almost menacing

The hours in which we live appear in the most tragic colours he said The enemy is at the gates of Petrograd the forces of the democracy are trying to organise to resist him and yet we await bloodshed in the streets of the capital and famine threatens to destroy not only our homogeneous Government but the Revolution itself

The masses are sick and exhausted They have no interest in the Revolution If the Bolsheviki start anything that will be the end of the Revolution (Cries That s a lie!) The counter revolutionists are waiting with the Bolsheviki to begin riots and massacres If there is any *vystuplenie* there will be no Constituent Assembly (Cries Lie! Shame!)

It is inadmissible that in the zone of military operations the Petrograd garrison shall not submit to the orders of the Staff You must obey the orders of the Staff and of the *Tsay-ee kah* elected by you All Power to the Soviets—that means death! Robbers and thieves are wait

in for the moment to loot and burn When you have such slogans put before you Enter the houses take away the shoes and clothes from the bourgeoisie—(Tumult Cries No such slogan! A lie! A lie!) Well it may start differently but it will end that way!

'The *Tsay ee kah* has full power to act and must be obeyed. We are not afraid of bayonets The *Tsay ee kah* will defend the Revolution with its body

(Cries It was a dead body long ago!")

Immense continued uproar in which his voice could be heard screaming as he pounded the desk Those who are urging this are committin a crime!

Voice You committed a crime long ago wh n you captured the power and turned it over to the bourgeoisie!

Gotz ringing the chairman s bell Silence or I'll have you put out!

Voice Try it! (Cheers and whistling)

Now *concerning our policy about peace* (Lau hter) Unfortunately Russia can no longer support the continua *tion of the war There is goin to be peace but not perma* nent peace—not a democratic peace To-day at the Council of the Republic in order to avoid bloodshed we passed an order of the day demanding the surrender of the land to the Land Committees and immediate peace ne otiations (Laughter and cries 'Too late!)

Then for the Bolsheviki Trotsky mounted the tribune borne on a wave of roaring applause that burst into cheers and a rising house thunderous His thin pointed face was positively Mephistophelian in its expression of malicious irony

Dan s tactics prove that the masses—the great dull indifferent masses—are absolutely with him! (Titantic mirth) He turned toward the chairman dramatically When we spoke of giving the land to the peasants you

were against it We told the peasants If they don t give it to you take it yourselves! and the peasants followed our advice And now you advocate what we did six months ago

I don t think Kerensky s order to suspend the death penalty in the army was dictated by his ideals I think Kerensky was persuaded by the Petrograd garrison which refused to obey him

To day Dan is accused of having made a speech in the Council of the Republic which proves him to be a secret Bolshevik The time may come when Dan will say that the flower of the Revolution participated in the rising of July 16th and 18th In Dan s resolution to day at the Council of the Republic there was no mention of enforcing discipline in the army although that is urged in the propaganda of his party

No The history of the last seven months shows that the masses have left the Mensheviki The Mensheviki and the Socialist Revolutionaries conquered the Cadets and then when they got the power, they gave it to the Cadets

Dan tells you that you have no right to make an insur rection Insurrection is the right of all revolutionists! When the down trodden masses revolt it is their right

Then the long faced cruel tongued Lieber greeted with groans and laughter

Engels and Marx said that the proletariat had no right to take power until it was ready for it In a bourgeois revolution like this the seizure of power by the masses means the tragic end of the Revolution Trotsky as a Social Democratic theorist is himself opposed to what he is now advocating (Cries Enough! Down with him!)

Martov constantly interrupted The Internationalists

are not opposed to the transmission of power to the de mocracy but they disapprove of the methods of the Bol sheviki This is not the moment to seize the power

Again Dan took the floor violently protesting against the action of the Military Revolutionary Committee which had sent a Commissar to seize the office of *Izvestia* and censor the paper The wildest uproar followed Martov tried to speak but could not be heard Delegates of the Army and the Baltic Fleet stood up all over the hall shouting that the Soviet was *their* Government

Amid the wildest confusion Ehrlich offered a resolution appealing to the workers and soldiers to remain calm and not to respond to provocations to demonstrate recognising the necessity of immediately creating a Committee of Public Safety and asking the Provisional Government at once to pass decrees transferring the land to the peasants and beginning peace negotiations

Then up leaped Volodarsky shouting harshly that the *Tsay-ee-kah* on the eve of the Congress had no right to assume the functions of the Congress The *Tsay-ee-kah* was practically dead he said and the resolution was simply a trick to bolster up its waning power

As for us Bolsheviki we will not vote on this resolution! Whereupon all the Bolsheviki left the hall and the resolution was passed

Toward four in the morning I met Zorin in the outer hall a rifle slung from his shoulder

We re moving! [8] said he calmly but with satisfaction We pinched the Assistant Minister of Justice and the Minister of Religions They re down cellar now One regiment is on the march to capture the Telephone Exchange another the Telegraph Agency another the State Bank The Red Guard is out

On the steps of Smolny in the chill dark we first saw

were against it We told the peasants If they don t give it to you take it yourselves! and the peasants followed our advice And now you advocate what we did six months ago

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Martov constantly interrupted 'The Internationalists

efficient management of factories is impossible without Workers Control.

5 Only Workers Control over capitalist enterprises cultivat in the workers conscious attitude toward work and making clear its social meaning can create conditions favourable to the development of a firm self-discipline in labour and the development of all labour s possible productivity

6 The impending transformation of industry from a war to a peace basis and the redistribution of labour all over the country as well as among the different factories can be accomplished without great disturbances only by means of the democratic self government of the workers themselves Therefore the realisa tion of Workers Control is an indispensable preliminary to the demobilisation of industry

7 In accordance with the slogan proclaimed by the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (Bolsheviki) Workers Control on a national scale in order to bring results must extend to all capitalist concerns and not be organised accidentally without system it must be well planned and not separated from the indus trial life of the country as a whole

8 The econom c life of the country—agriculture industry commerce and transport—must be subjected to one unified plan co tructed so as to satisfy the individual and social requirements of the w de masses of the people it must be approved by their elected representati es and carried out under the direction of these representatives by m ans of national and local organisations

9 That part of the plan which deals with land labour must be carried out under supervision of the peasants and land workers o ganisations that elating to industry trade nd transport operated by wage-earners by means of Workers Control the natural organs of Workers Control inside the industrial plant will be the Fac tory Shop a d similar Committees and in the labour market, the Trade Unions

10 Th collective wage agreements arranged by the Trade Unions for the majority of workers in any branch of labour must be bind g on ll th owners of plants employing this kind of labour in the gi en district.

11 Employment bureaus must be placed under the control and man gement of the Trade Unions as class organisations acting w thin the limits of the whole industri l plan and in accordance w th t.

the Red Guard—a huddled group of boys in workmen's clothes carrying guns with bayonets, talking nervously together

Far over the still roofs westward came the sound of scattered rifle fire where the *yunkers* were trying to open the bridges over the Neva to prevent the factory workers and soldiers of the Viborg quarter from joining the Soviet forces in the centre of the city and the Cronstadt sailors were closing them again

Behind us great Smolny bright with lights hummed like a gigantic hive

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1 Resolution of the Factory Shop Committees

Workers Control

1 (See page 69)

2 The organisation of Workers Control is a manifestation of the same healthy activity in the sphere of industrial production as are party organisations in the sphere of politics trade unions in employment Cooperatives in the domain of consumption and literary clubs in the sphere of culture

3 The working class has much more interest in the proper and uninterrupted operation of factories than the capitalist class Workers Control is a better security in this respect for the interests of modern society of the whole people than the arbitrary will of the owners who are guided only by their selfish desire for material profits or political privileges Therefore Workers Control is demanded by the proletariat not only in their own interest but in the interest of the whole country and should be supported by the revolutionary peasantry as well as the revolutionary Army

4 Considering the hostile attitude of the majority of the capitalist class toward the Revolution experience shows that proper distribution of raw materials and fuel as well as the most

effic ent management of factories is impossible without Workers Control.

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8 The economic life of the country—agriculture industry commerce and transport—must be subjected to one unified plan constructed so as to satisfy the individual and social requirements of the wide masses of the people it must be approved by their elected representat ves and carried out under the direction of these representatives by means of national and local organisations

9 That part of the plan wh ch deals with land labour must be carried out under supervision of the peasants and land workers organisations that relating to industry trade and transport operated by wage-earners by means of Workers *Control* the n tural organs of Workers Control ins de the industrial plant will be the Fac to y Shop and s milar Comm ttees and in the labour market the Trade Unions

10 The collective wage agreements arranged by the Trade Unions for the majo ity of workers in any branch of l bour mu t be bi d ng on all the owners of plants employing this k nd of labour in the given district

11 Employment bureaus must be placed under the control and management of the Trade Unions as class organisations acting within the lim ts of the whole in lu trial plan and in accordance w th t.

12 Trade Unions must have the right upon their own initiative to begin legal action against all employers who violate labour contracts or labour legislation and also in behalf of any individual worker in any branch of labour

13 On all questions relating to Workers Control over production distribution and employment the Trade Unions must confer with the workers of individual establishments through their Factory Shop Committees

14 Matters of employment and discharge vacations wage scales refusal of work degree of productivity and skill reasons for abrogating agreements disputes with the administration and similar problems of the internal life of the factory must be settled exclusively according to the findings of the Factory Shop Committee which has the right to exclude from participation in the discussion any members of the factory administration

15 The Factory Shop Committee forms a commission to control the supplying of the factory with raw materials fuel orders labour power and technical staff (including equipment) and all other supplies and arrangements and also to assure the factory's adherence to the general industrial plan The factory administration is obliged to surrender to the organs of Workers Control for their aid and information all data concerning the business to make it possible to verify this data and to produce the books of the company upon demand of the Factory Shop Committee

16 Any illegal acts on the part of the administration discovered by the Factory Shop Committees or any suspicion of such illegal acts which cannot be investigated or remedied by the workers alone shall be referred to the district central organisation of Factory Shop Committees charged with the particular branch of labour involved which shall discuss the matter with the institutions charged with the execution of the general industrial plan and find means to deal with the matter even to the extent of confiscating the factory

17 The union of the Factory Shop Committees of different concerns must be accomplished on the basis of the different trades in order to facilitate control over the whole branch of industry so as to come within the general industrial plan and so as to create an effective plan of distribution among the different factories of orders raw materials fuel technical and labour power and also to facilitate cooperation with the Trade Unions which are organised by trades

18 The central city councils of Trade Unions and Factory Shop Committees represent the proletariat in the corresponding provincial and local institutions formed to elaborate and carry out the general industr al plan and to organise economic relations betw en the towns and the villages (workers and peasants) They also possess final authority for the management of Factory Shop Com m ttees and T ade Unions so far as Workers Control in their distr ct s concerned and they shall issue obligatory regulations co cern n workers d sciplne in the routine of production—which regulations however must be approved by vote of the workers themselves

1 The Bo eois Press on the Bolsheviki

Russkay Vol a October 28 "The decisive moment approaches It is decisive for the Bolsheviki. Either they will give us a seco d edition of the events of July 16 18 or they will have to admit that with their plans and intentions with their impertinent policy of wishing to separate themselves from everything con sc ously national they have been definitely defeated

"What are the ch nces of Bolshevik success?

It is difficult to answer that question for their principal support is the ignorance of the popular masses They speculate on it, they work upon it by a demagogy which nothing can stop

"The Government must play its part in this affair Supporting itself morally by the Council of the Republic the Government must take a clearly-defined attitude toward the Bolsheviki

And if the Bolsheviki provoke n insurrection against the legal power and thus facilitate the German invas on they must be treated as mutineers and traitors

B zhe v Vi dom ti October 28 "Now that the Bolsheviki ha e separated themsel es from the rest of the democracy the struggle ag st them is very much simpler—and it is not reasonable in order to fight against Bolshevism to wait until they make a manifestat on. The Go ernment should not even allow the mani festat on

"The appeals of the Bolsheviki to insurrection and anarchy are acts punishable by the criminal courts and in the freest countries their uthors would rece ve severe sentences For what the Bolsheviki are carry ng on is not a political stru gle against the Govern m nt o ev n for the power it is p opaganda for anarchy mas

sacres and civil war This propaganda must be extirpated at its roots it would be strange to wait in order to begin action against an agitation for *pogroms* until the *pogroms* actually occurred

Novoye Vremya November 1 Why is the Government excited only about November 2d (date of calling of the Congress of Soviets) and not about September 12th or October 3d?

'This is not the first time that Russia burns and falls in ruins and that the smoke of the terrible conflagration makes the eyes of our Allies smart

Since it came to power has there been a single order issued by the Government for the purpose of halting anarchy or has any one attempted to put out the Russian conflagration?

'There were other things to do

'The Government turned its attention to a more immediate problem It crushed an insurrection (the Kornilov attempt) concerning which every one is now asking Did it ever exist?

3 Moderate Socialist Press on the Bolsheviki

Dielo Naroda October 28 (Socialist Revolutionary) "The most frightful crime of the Bolsheviki against the Revolution is that they impute exclusively to the bad intentions of the revolutionary Government all the calamities which the masses are so cruelly suffering when as a matter of fact these calamities spring from objective causes

They make golden promises to the masses knowing in advance that they can fulfil none of them they lead the masses on a false trail deceiving them as to the source of all their troubles

'The Bolsheviki are the most dangerous enemies of the Revolution

Dien October 30 (Menshevik) Is this really 'the freedom of the press'? Every day *Novaya Pus* and *Rabochi Put* openly incite to insurrection Every day these two papers commit in their columns actual crimes Every day they urge *pogroms* Is that *the freedom* of the press?

'The Government ought to defend itself and defend us We have the right to insist that the Government machinery does not remain passive while the threat of bloody riots endangers the lives of its citizens "

4 Yed nstvo

Plekhanov s paper *Yedinstvo* suspended publication a few weeks after the Bolsheviki se zed the power Contrary to popular report *Yed nstvo* was not suppressed by the Soviet Government an announcement in the last number admitted that it was unable to continue *beca se there were too fe subscr bers*

5 Were the Bolshe iki Conspirator

The French newspaper *Ente te* of Petrograd on November 15th published an article of which the foLowing is a part

"The Government of Kerensky discuss s and hesitates The Go er ment of Lenin and T o sky at a ks and a ts

This last is called a Go ernm nt of Conspirators but that is wro g Government of usurpers yes like all revolutionary Go ernments which triumph over their adversaries Conspirators—no!

No Th y d d not conspire On the contrary openly auda o sly without m c n words without d ssimulatin th ir in tentions th y mult pl ed their agitation intens fied their propa g da n the factories the barracks at the Front in the country e erywhere even fixing in advance the date of their taking up arms the date of their seizure of the power

They—conspirators? Ne er

6 Appeal Against Insurrect n

F om the Central Army Comm ttee

Abo e everything we in i t po the inflexible execution of the organi ed w ll of the majority of the people expressed by *t e* Pro isional Government in accord w th the Council of the Rep blic and the *Tsay ee kah* as organ of the popular power

Th not orr ct *Y d nst* d lik all go rum tal p pers t la k t fu d b publish d i ll 189 mbe as d ily f Pl kh o et rn to R ss 1917 It w p sed by L nin go rum t i th
4 ourse f N mbe but re ppe d soon d th t ll f *N* *l* *Y dins*
Whe t was supp sed gain, Pl kh m d Mosc w wh h man ged t iss aly t monthly mb rs Th th mbin t l k t
5 f d d pport, g rum h ment d Pl kha h tt ed h lth p d to it.—*Ed*

"Any demonstration to depose this power by violence at a moment when a Government crisis will infallibly create disorganisation the ruin of the country and civil war will be considered by the Army as a counterrevolutionary act and repressed by force of arms

'The interests of private groups and classes should be submitted to a single interest—that of augmenting industrial production, *and distributing the necessities of life with fairness*

All who are capable of sabotage disorganisation or disorder all deserters all slackers all looters should be forced to do auxiliary service in the rear of the Army

We invite the Provisional Government to form out of these violators of the people s will these enemies of the Revolution, labour detachments to work in the rear on the Front in the trenches under enemy fire "

7 Offensive or Defensive

This is typical of a number of speeches and moves of Trotsky disavowing the intention to undertake the offensive while actually preparing it In an article characteristically directed against Trotsky and entitled 'Trotskyism or Leninism? Stalin described the tactics which Reed is reporting on in the present work in the following terms A peculiar feature of the tactics of the revolution in this period must be noted namely that the revolution strove to take every or nearly every step in its attack in the guise of defence Undoubtedly the refusal to allow the troops to be withdrawn from Petrograd was an important step in the revolution s attack nevertheless this attack was carried out under the slogan of protecting Petrograd from possible attack by the external enemy Undoubtedly the formation of the Revolutionary Military Committee was a still more important step in the attack upon the Provisional Government nevertheless it was carried out under the slogan of organizing Soviet control over the actions of the Headquarters of the Military District Undoubtedly the open transfer of allegiance of the garrison to the side of the Revolutionary Military Committee and the organization of a network of Soviet Commissars [in the barracks] marked the beginning of the uprising nevertheless the revolution took these steps under the slogan of protecting the Petrograd Soviet from possible action by the counter revolution The revolution so to

speak masked its actions in attack under the cloak of defence in order more easily to draw the irresolute vacillating elements into its orbit This no doubt explains the outwardly defensive character of the speeches articles and slogans of that period the inner content of which none the less was of a deeply offensive nature. (*Pravda* November 26 1924) —*Ed*

8 Events of the Night November 6th

Toward evening bands of Red Guards began to occupy the printing shops of the bourgeois press where they printed *Rabochi Put Soldat* and various proclamations by the hundred thousand The City Militia was ordered to clear these places but found the offices barricaded and armed men defending them. Soldiers who were ordered to attack the print shops refused

About midnight a Colonel with a company of *yunkers* arrived at the club Free Mind with a warrant to arrest the editor of *Rabochi Put* Immediately an enormous mob gathered in the street outside and threatened to lynch the *yunkers* The Colonel thereupon begged that he and the *yunkers* be arrested and taken to Peter Paul prison for safety This request was granted

At 1 A.M a detachment of soldiers and sailors from Smolny occupied the Telegraph Agency At 1 35 the Post Office was occupied. Toward morning the Military Hotel was taken and at 5 o clock the Telephone Exchange At dawn the State Bank was surrounded And at 10 A M a cordon of troops was drawn about the Winter Palace

CHAPTER IV

THE FALL OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

Wednesday, November 7th I rose very late The noon cannon boomed from Peter Paul as I went down the Nevsky It was a raw chill day In front of the State Bank some soldiers with fixed bayonets were standing at the closed gates

What side do you belong to? I asked The Government?

No more Government one answered with a grin *Slava Bogu!* Glory to God! That was all I could get out of him

The street cars were running on the Nevsky men women and small boys hanging on every projection Shops were open and there seemed even less uneasiness among the street crowds than there had been the day before A whole crop of new appeals against insurrection had blossomed out on the walls during the night—to the peasants to the soldiers at the front to the workmen of Petrograd One read

From the Petrograd Municipal Duma

The Municipal Duma informs the citizens that in the extraordinary meeting of November 6th the Duma formed a

Committee of Public Safety composed of members of the Central and Ward Dumas and representatives of the following revolutionary democratic organizations The *Tsay-ee kah* the All Russian Executive Committee of Peasant Deputies the Army organisations the *Tsentroflot* the Petrograd Soviet of Workers and Soldiers Deputies (!) the Council of Trade Unions and others

Members of the Committee of Public Safety will be on duty in the building of the Municipal Duma Telephones No 15-40 223 77 138 36

November 7th 1917

Though I didn t realize it then this was the Duma s declaration of war against the Bolsheviki

I bought a copy of *Rabochi Put* the only newspaper which seemed on sale and a little later paid a soldier fifty kopeks for a second hand copy of *Dien* The Bolshevik paper printed on large sized sheets in the conquered office of the *Russkaya Volia* had huge headlines ALL POWER —TO THE SOVIETS OF WORKERS SOLDIERS AND PEASANTS! PEACE! BREAD! LAND! The leading article was signed Zinoviev —Lenin s companion in hiding It began

Every soldier every worker every real Socialist every honest democrat realises that there are only two alternatives to the present situation.

Either—the power will remain in the hands of the bourgeois landlord crew and this will mean every kind of repression for the workers soldiers and peasants continuation of the war inevitable hunger and death

Or—the power will be transferred to the hands of the revolutionary workers soldiers and peasants and in that case it will mean a complete abolition of landlord tyranny immediate check of the capitalists immediate proposal of a just peace Then the land is assured to the peasants then con-

trol of industry is assured to the workers then bread is assured to the hungry then the end of this nonsensical war!

Dien contained fragmentary news of the agitated night Bolsheviki capture of the Telephone Exchange the Baltic station the Telegraph Agency the Peterhof *yunkers* unable *to reach Petrograd the Cossacks* undecided arrest of some of the Ministers shooting of Chief of the City Militia Meyer arrests counter arrests skirmishes between clashing patrols of soldiers *yunkers* and Red Guards [1]

On the corner of the Morskaya I ran into Captain Gomberg Menshevik *oboronetz* secretary of the Military Section of his party When I asked him if the insurrection had really happened he shrugged his shoulders in a tired manner and replied *Chort znayet!* The devil knows! Well perhaps the Bolsheviki can seize the power but they won't be able to hold it more than three days They haven't the men to run a government Perhaps it's a good thing to let them try—that will finish them

The Military Hotel at the corner of St Isaac's Square was picketed by armed sailors In the lobby were many of the smart young officers walking up and down or muttering together the sailors wouldn't let them leave

Suddenly came the sharp crack of a rifle outside followed by a scattered burst of firing I ran out Something unusual was going on around the Marinsky Palace where the Council of the Russian Republic met Diagonally across the wide square was drawn a line of soldiers rifles ready staring at the hotel roof

Provocatsia! Shot at us! snapped one while another went running toward the door

At the western corner of the Palace lay a big armoured

car with a red flag flying from it newly lettered in red paint S R S D (*Soviet Rabochikh Soldatskikh Deputatov*) all the guns trained toward St Isaac s A barricade had been heaped up across the mouth of Novaya Ulitza—boxes barrels an old bed spring a wagon A pile of lumber barred the end of the Moika quay Short logs from a neighbouring woodpile were being built up along the front of the building to form breastworks

Is there going to be any fighting? I asked

Soon soon answered a soldier nervously Go away comrade you ll get hurt They will come from that direction pointing toward the Admiralty

Who will?

That I couldn t tell you brother he answered and spat

Before the door of the Palace was a crowd of soldiers and sailors A sailor was telling of the end of the Council of the Russian Republic "We walked in there he said, and filled all the doors with comrades I went up to the counter revolutionist Kornilovitz who sat in the president s chair No more Council I says Run along home now!

There was laughter By waving assorted papers I managed to get around to the door of the press gallery There an enormous smiling sailor stopped me and when I showed my pass just said If you were Saint Michael himself comrade you couldn t pass here! Through the glass of the door I made out the distorted face and gesticulating arms of a French correspondent locked in

Around in front stood a little grey moustached man in the uniform of a general the centre of a knot of soldiers He was very red in the face

I am General Alexeyev he cried As your superior officer and as a member of the Council of the Republic

I demand to be allowed to pass! The guard scratched his head looking uneasily out of the corner of his eye he beckoned to an approaching officer who grew very agitated when he saw who it was and saluted before he realised what he was doing

Vashe Vysokoprevoskhoditelstvo—your High Excellency— he stammered in the manner of the old régime Access to the Palace is strictly forbidden—I have no right——

An automobile came by and I saw Gotz sitting inside laughing apparently with great amusement A few minutes later another with armed soldiers on the front seat full of arrested members of the Provisional Government Peters Lettish member of the Military Revolutionary Committee came hurrying across the Square

I thought you bagged all those gentlemen last night" said I pointing to them

Oh he answered with the expression of a disappointed small boy The damn fools let most of them go again before we made up our minds

Down the Voskressensky Prospekt a great mass of sailors were drawn up and behind them came marching soldiers as far as the eye could reach

We went toward the Winter Palace by way of the Admiralteisky All the entrances to the Palace Square were closed by sentries and a cordon of troops stretched clear across the western end besieged by an uneasy throng of citizens Except for far away soldiers who seemed to be carrying wood out of the Palace courtyard and piling it in front of the main gateway everything was quiet

We couldn t make out whether the sentries were pro-Government or pro Soviet Our papers from Smolny had no effect however so we approached another part of the line with an important air and showed our American

passports saying Official business! and shouldered through At the door of the Palace the same old *shveit zari* in their brass buttoned blue uniforms with the red and gold collars politely took our coats and hats and we went up stairs In the dark gloomy corridor stripped of its tapestries a few old attendants were lounging about and in front of Kerensky s door a young officer paced up and down gnawing his moustache We asked if we could interview the Minister president He bowed and clicked his heels

No I am sorry he replied in French Alexander Feodorvich is extremely occupied just now He looked at us for a moment In fact he is not here

Where is he?

He has gone to the Front And do you know there wasn t enough gasoline for his automobile We had to send to the English Hospital and borrow some "

Are the Ministers here?

They are meeting in some room—I don t know where "

Are the Bolsheviki coming?

Of course Certainly they are coming I expect a telephone call every minute to say that they are coming. But we are ready We have *yunkers* in the front of the Palace Through that door there

Can we go in there?

No Certainly not It is not permitted Abruptly he shook hands all around and walked away We turned to the forbidden door set in a temporary partition dividing the hall and locked on the outside On the other side were voices and somebody laughing Except for that the vast spaces of the old Palace were silent as the grave An old *shveitzar* ran up No *barin* you must not go in there

Why is the door locked?

To keep the soldiers in he answered After a few

minutes he said something about having a glass of tea and went back up the hall We unlocked the door

Just inside a couple of soldiers stood on guard, but they said nothing At the end of the corridor was a large ornate room with gilded cornices and enormous crystal lustres and beyond it several smaller ones wainscoted with dark wood On both sides of the parquetted floor lay rows of dirty mattresses and blankets upon which occasional soldiers were stretched out everywhere was a litter of cigarette butts bits of bread cloth and empty bottles with expensive French labels More and more soldiers with the red shoulder straps of the *yunker* schools moved about in a stale atmosphere of tobacco-smoke and unwashed humanity One had a bottle of white Burgundy *evidently filched from the cellars of the Palace* They looked at us with astonishment as we marched past through room after room until at last we came out into a series of great state salons fronting their long and dirty windows on the Square The walls were covered with huge canvases in massive gilt frames—historical battle scenes 12 October 1812 and 6 November 1812" and 16/28 August 1813 One had a gash across the upper right hand corner

The place was all a huge barrack and evidently had been for weeks from the look of the floor and walls Machine guns were mounted on window sills rifles stacked between the mattresses

As we were looking at the pictures an alcoholic breath assailed me from the region of my *left* ear and a voice said in thick but fluent French *I see* by the way you admire the paintings that you are *foreigners* He was a short puffy man with a baldish head as he removed his cap

Americans? Enchanted I am Stabs-Capitan Vladimir

Artzibashev absolutely at your service It did not seem to occur to him that there was anything unusual in four strangers one a woman wandering through the defences of an army awaiting attack He began to complain of the state of Russia

Not only these Bolsheviki he said but the fine traditions of the Russian army are broken down Look around you These are all students in the officers training schools But are they gentlemen? Kerensky opened the officers schools to the ranks to any soldier who could pass an examination. Naturally there are many many who are contaminated by the Revolution

Without consequence he changed the subject I am very anxious to go away from Russia I have made up my mind to join the American army Will you please go to your Consul and make arrangements? I will give you my address In spite of our protestations he wrote it on a piece of paper and seemed to feel better at once I have it still— *Oranienbaumskaya Shkola Praporshchikov 2nd Staraya Peterhof*

We had a review this morning early he went on as he guided us through the rooms and explained every thing The Women s Battalion decided to remain loyal to the Government

Are the women soldiers in the Palace?

Yes they are in the back rooms where they won t be hurt if any trouble comes He sighed It is a great responsibility said he

For a while we stood at the window looking down on the Square before the Palace where three companies of long-coated *junkers* were drawn up under arms being harangued by a tall energetic looking officer I recognised as Stankevich chief Military Commissar of the Provisional Government After a few minutes two of the com

panies shouldered arms with a clash barked three sharp shouts and went swinging off across the Square disappearing through the Red Arch into the quiet city

They are going to capture the Telephone Exchange said some one Three cadets stood by us and we fell into conversation They said they had entered the schools from the ranks and gave their names—Robert Olev Alexei Vasilienko and Erni Sachs an Esthonian But now they didn t want to be officers any more because officers were very unpopular They didn t seem to know what to do as a matter of fact and it was plain that they were not happy

But soon they began to boast If the Bolsheviki come we shall show them how to fight They do not dare to fight they are cowards But if we should be overpowered well every man keeps one bullet for himself

At this point there was a burst of rifle fire not far off Out on the Square all the people began to run falling flat on their faces and the *izvoshchiki* standing on the corners galloped in every direction Inside all was uproar soldiers running here and there grabbing up guns rifle belts and shouting Here they come! Here they come!

But in a few minutes it quieted down again The *izvoshchiki* came back the people lying down stood up Through the Red Arch appeared the *yunkers* marching a little out of step one of them supported by two comrades

It was getting late when we left the Palace The sentries in the Square had all disappeared The great semicircle of Government buildings seemed deserted We went into the Hotel France for dinner and right in the middle of soup the waiter very pale in the face came up and insisted that we move to the main dining room at the back of the house because they were going to put out the

lights in the café "There will be much shootin," he said

When we came out on the Morskaya again it was quite dark, except for one flickering street light on the corner of the Nevsky Under this stood a big armored automobile with racing engine and oil smoke pouring out of it. A small boy had climbed up the side of the thing and was looking down the barrel of a machine gun Soldiers and sailors stood around evidently waiting for something We walked back up to the Red Arch where a knot of soldiers was gathered staring at the brightly lighted Winter Palace and talking in loud tones

No comrades one was saying How can we shoot at them? The Women's Battalion is in there—they will say we have fired on Russian women

As we reached the Nevsky again another armoured car came around the corner and a man poked his head out of the turret top

Come on! he yelled Let's go on through and attack!

The driver of the other car came over and shouted so as to be heard above the roaring engine "The Committee says to wait They have got artillery behind the wood piles in there

Here the street-cars had stopped running few people passed and there were no lights but a few blocks away we could see the trams the crowds the lighted shop-windows and the electric signs of the moving picture shows—life going on as usual We had tickets to the Ballet at the Marinsky Theatre—all the theatres were open—but it was too exciting out of doors

In the darkness we stumbled over lumber piles barricading the Police Bridge and before the Stroganov Palace made out some soldiers wheeling into position a three inch field gun Men in various uniforms were com

ing and going in an aimless way, and doing a great deal of talking

Up the Nevsky the whole city seemed to be out promenading On every corner immense crowds were massed around a core of hot discussion Pickets of a dozen soldiers with fixed bayonets lounged at the street-crossings red faced old men in rich fur coats shook their fists at them smartly dressed women screamed epithets the soldiers argued feebly with embarrassed grins Armoured cars went up and down the street named after the first Tsars—Oleg Rurik Svetoslav—and daubed with huge red letters R S D R P (*Rossiskaya Sotsial Demokratitcheskaya Rabochaya Partia*) * At the Mikhailovsky a man appeared with an armful of newspapers and was immediately stormed by frantic people offering a rouble five roubles ten roubles tearing at each other like animals It was *Rabochi i Soldat* announcing the victory of the Proletarian Revolution the liberation of the Bolsheviki still in prison calling upon the Army front and rear for support a feverish little sheet of four pages running to enormous type containing no news

On the corner of the Sadovaya about two thousand citizens had gathered staring up at the roof of a tall building where a tiny red spark glowed and waned

See! said a tall peasant pointing to it It is a provocator Presently he will fire on the people Apparently no one thought of going to investigate

* * * *

The massive façade of Smolny blazed with lights as we drove up and from every street converged upon it streams of hurrying shapes dim in the gloom Automobiles and motorcycles came and went an enormous elephant col

* Russi Social Democr tic Lab P rty

oured armoured automobile with two red flags flying from the turret lumbered out with screamin, siren It was cold and at the outer gate the Red Guards had built them selves a bonfire At the inner gate too there was a blaze by the li ht of which the sentries slowly spelled out our passes and looked us up and down The canvas covers had been taken off the four rapid fire guns on each side of the doorway and the ammunition belts hung snake like from their breeches A dun herd of armoured cars stood under the trees in the court yard en,ines going The lon, bare dimly illuminated halls roared with the thunder of feet calling shoutin, There was an atmosphere of recklessness A crowd came pouring down the staircase workers in black blouses and round black fur hats many of them with guns slun, over their shoul ders soldiers in rough dirt-coloured coats and grey fur *shapki* pinched flat a leader or so—Lunacharsky Kame nev—hurryin, alon, in the centre of a group all talking at once with harassed anxious faces and bul,ing port folios under their arms The extraordinary meetin, of the Petrograd Soviet was over I stopped Kamenev—a quick movin, little man with a wide vivacious face set close to his shoulders Without preface he read in rapid French a copy of the resolution just passed

The Petrograd Soviet of Workers and Soldiers Deputies, salutin the victorious Revolution of the Petrograd proletariat and garrison particularly emphas ses the unity organisation d s ipline and complete cooperation shown by the ma ses in this rising rarely has less blood been spilled and rarely has an insurrection succeeded so well

The Soviet expresses its firm conviction that the Workers and Peasants Government which as the government of the Soviets will be created by the Revolution and which will

C ps.—Ed

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* Caps—Ed

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Up the Nevsky the whole city seemed to be out promenading On every corner immense crowds were massed around a core of hot discussion Pickets of a dozen soldiers with fixed bayonets lounged at the street crossings red faced old men in rich fur coats shook their fists at them smartly dressed women screamed epithets the soldiers argued feebly with embarrassed grins Armoured cars went up and down the street named after the first Tsars—Oleg Rurik Svetoslav—and daubed with huge red letters R S D R P (*Rossiskaya Sotsial Demokratitcheskaya Rabochaya Partia*) * At the Mikhailovsky a man appeared with an armful of newspapers and was immediately stormed by frantic people offering a rouble five roubles ten roubles tearing at each other like animals It was *Rabochi i Soldat* announcing the victory of the Proletarian Revolution the liberation of the Bolsheviki still in prison calling upon the Army front and rear for support a feverish little sheet of four pages running to enormous type containing no news

On the corner of the Sadovaya about two thousand citizens had gathered staring up at the roof of a tall building where a tiny red spark glowed and waned

See! said a tall peasant pointing to it It is a provocator Presently he will fire on the people Apparently no one thought of going to investigate

* * * *

The massive façade of Smolny blazed with lights as we drove up and from every street converged upon it streams of hurrying shapes dim in the gloom Automobiles and motorcycles came and went an enormous elephant-col

* Russian Social Democratic Labor Party

tered armoured automobile, with two red flags flying from the turret, lumbered out with screaming siren. It was cold, and at the outer gate the Red Guards had built themselves a bonfire. At the inner gate, too, there was a blaze, by the light of which the sentries slowly spelled out our passes and looked us up and down. The canvas covers had been taken off the four rapid-fire guns on each side of the doorway, and the ammunition-belts hung snakelike from their breeches. A dun herd of armoured cars stood under the trees in the court-yard, engines going. The long, bare, dimly-illuminated halls roared with the thunder of feet, calling, shouting.... There was an atmosphere of recklessness. A crowd came pouring down the staircase, workers in black blouses and round black fur hats, many of them with guns slung over their shoulders, soldiers in rough dirt-coloured coats and grey fur *shapki* pinched flat, a leader or so—Lunacharsky, Kamenev—hurrying along in the centre of a group all talking at once, with harassed anxious faces, and bulging portfolios under their arms. The extraordinary meeting of the Petrograd Soviet was over. I stopped Kamenev—a quick-moving little man, with a wide, vivacious face set close to his shoulders. Without preface he read in rapid French a copy of the resolution just passed:

The Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, saluting the victorious Revolution of the Petrograd proletariat and garrison, particularly emphasises the unity, organisation, discipline, and complete cooperation shown by the masses in this rising; rarely has less blood been spilled, and rarely has an insurrection succeeded so well.

The Soviet expresses its firm conviction that the Workers' and Peasants' Government which, as the government of the Soviets, will be created by the Revolution, and which will

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Military Revolutionary Committee Trotsky had declared that the Provisional Government no lon er existed

The characteristic of bourgeois governments he said is to deceive the people We the Soviets of Workers Soldiers and Peasants D puties are goin to try an experiment unique in history we are going to found a power which will have no other aim but to satisfy the needs of the soldiers workers and peasants

Lenin had appeared welcomed with a mighty ovation prophesyin world wide Social Revolution And Zinoviev crying This day we have paid our debt to the international proletariat and struck a terrible blow at the war a terrible body blow at all the imperialists and particularly at Wilhelm the Executioner

Then Trotsky that telegrams had been sent to the front announcing the victorious insurrection but no reply had come Troops were said to be marching against Petrograd—a dele ation must be sent to tell them the truth

Cries You are anticipating the will of the All Russian Congress of Soviets!"

Trotsky coldly 'The will of the All Russian Congress of Soviets has been anticipated by the rising of the Petro grad workers and soldiers!

So we came into the great meetin hall pushing through the clamorous mob at the door In the rows of seats under the white chandeliers packed immovably in the aisles and on the sides perched on every window sill and even the ed e of the platform the representatives of the workers and soldiers of all Russia waited in anxious silence or wild exultation the ringing of the chairman s bell. There was no heat in the hall but the stifling heat of un washed human bodies A foul blue cloud of cigarette smoke rose from the mass and hung in the thick air Occasionally some one in authority mounted the tribun

assure the industrial proletariat of the support of the entire mass of poor peasants will march firmly toward Socialism the only means by which the country can be spared the miseries and unheard-of horrors of war

The new Workers and Peasants Government will propose immediately a just and democratic peace to all the belligerent countries

It will suppress immediately the great landed property and transfer the land to the peasants It will establish workmen's control over production and distribution of manufactured products and will set up a general control over the banks which it will transform into a state monopoly

The Petrograd Soviet of Workers and Soldiers Deputies calls upon the workers and the peasants of Russia to support with all their energy and all their devotion the Proletarian Revolution The Soviet expresses its conviction that the city workers allies of the poor peasants will assure complete revolutionary order indispensable to the victory of Socialism The Soviet is convinced that the proletariat of the countries of Western Europe will aid us in conducting the cause of Socialism to a real and lasting victory *

You consider it won then?

He lifted his shoulders There is much to do Horribly much It is just beginning

On the landing I met Riazanov vice president of the Trade Unions looking black and biting his grey beard It s insane! Insane! he shouted The European working class won t move! All Russia— He waved his hand distractedly and ran off Riazanov and Kamenev had both opposed the insurrection and felt the lash of Lenin s terrible tongue

It had been a momentous session In the name of the

* Drafted by Lenin published in the form in which Reed quotes it in *Rabochii Put* of November 8 and now with minor emendations in Lenin s *Works* Vol XXVI p 210—*Ed*

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and asked the comrades not to smoke then everybody smokers and all took up the cry Don t smoke comrades! and went on smoking Petrovsky Anarchist delegate from the Obukhov factory made a seat for me beside him Unshaven and filthy he was reeling from three nights sleepless work on the Military Revolutionary Committee

On the platform sat the leaders of the old *Tsay ee kah* —for the last time dominating the turbulent Soviets which they had ruled from the first days and which were now risen against them It was the end of the first period of the Russian revolution which these men had attempted to guide in careful ways The three greatest of them were not there Kerensky flying to the front through country towns all doubtfully heaving up Chkheidze the old eagle who had contemptuously retired to his own Georgian mountains there to sicken with consumption and the high souled Tseretelli also mortally striken who nevertheless would return and pour out his beautiful eloquence for a lost cause Gotz sat there Dan Lieber Bogdanov Broido Filipovsky —white faced hollow-eyed and indignant Below them the second *siezd** of the All Russian Soviets boiled and swirled and over their heads the Military Revolutionary Committee functioned white hot holding in its hands the threads of insurrection and striking with a long arm It was 10 40 P M

Dan a mild faced baldish figure in a shapeless military surgeon s uniform was ringing the bell Silence fell sharply intense broken by the scuffling and disputing of the people at the door

We have the power in our hands he began sadly stopped for a moment and then went on in a low voice Comrades! The Congress of Soviets is meeting in such

Congress —*Ed*

unusual circumstances and in such an extraordinary moment that you will understand why the *Tsay-ee-kah* considers it unnecessary to address you with a political speech. This will become much clearer to you if you will recollect that I am a member of the *Tsay-ee-kah*, and that at this very moment our party comrades are in the Winter Palace under bombardment, sacrificing themselves to execute the duty put on them by the *Tsay-ee-kah*." (Confused uproar.)

"I declare the first session of the Second Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies open!"

The election of the presidium took place amid stir and moving about. Avanesov announced that by agreement of the Bolsheviki, Left Socialist Revolutionaries and Mensheviki Internationalists, it was decided to base the presidium upon proportionality. Several Mensheviki leaped to their feet protesting. A bearded soldier shouted at them, "Remember what you did to us Bolsheviki when *we* were the minority!" Result—14 Bolsheviki, 7 Socialist Revolutionaries, 3 Mensheviki and 1 Internationalist (Gorky's group). Hendelmann, for the right and centre Socialist Revolutionaries, said that they refused to take part in the presidium; the same from Khinchuk,* for the Mensheviki; and from the Mensheviki Internationalists, that until the verification of certain circumstances, they too could not enter the presidium. Scattering applause and hoots. One voice, "Renegades, you call yourselves Socialists!" A representative of the Ukrainian delegates demanded, and received, a place. Then the old *Tsay-ee-kah* stepped down, and in their places appeared Trotsky, Kamenev, Lunacharsky, Madame Kollentai, Nogin. . . . The hall rose, thundering. How far they had soared, these Bolsheviki,

* Chairman of the Moscow Soviet, in 1920 joined the Communist Party and became a Soviet functionary.—*Ed.*

from a despised and hunted sect less than four months ago to this supreme place the helm of great Russia in full tide of insurrection!

The order of the day said Kamenev was first Organisation of Power second War and Peace and third the Constituent Assembly Lozovsky rising announced that upon agreement of the bureau of all factions it was proposed to hear and discuss the report of the Petrograd Soviet then to give the floor to members of the *Tsay ee kah* and the different parties and finally to pass to the order of the day

But suddenly a new sound made itself heard deeper than the tumult of the crowd persistent disquieting —the dull shock of guns People looked anxiously toward the clouded windows and a sort of fever came over them Martov demanding the floor croaked hoarsely The *civil war is beginning comrades! The first question* must be a peaceful settlement of the crisis On principle and from a political standpoint we must urgently discuss a means of averting civil war Our brothers are being shot down in the streets! At this moment when before the opening of the Congress of Soviets the question of Power is being settled by means of a military plot organised by one of the revolutionary parties— for a moment he could not make himself heard above the noise All of the revolutionary parties must face the fact! The first *vopros* (question) before the Congress is the question of Power and this question is already being settled by force of arms in the streets We must create a power which will be recognised by the whole democracy If the Congress wishes to be the voice of the revolutionary democracy it must not sit with folded hands before the developing civil war the result of which may be a dangerous outburst of counter revolution The possibility

of a peaceful outcome lies in the formation of a united democratic authority We must elect a delegation to negotiate with the other Socialist parties and organisations

Always the methodical muffled boom of cannon through the windows and the delegates screaming at each other So with the crash of artillery in the dark with hatred and fear and reckless daring new Russia was being born

The Left Socialist Revolutionaries and the United Social Democrats supported Martov s proposition It was accepted * A soldier announced that the All Russian Peasants Soviets had refused to send delegates to the Congress he proposed that a committee be sent with a formal invitation Some delegates are present he said I move that they be given votes Accepted.

Kharash wearing the epaulets of a captain passionately demanded the floor The political hypocrites who control this Congress he shouted told us we were to settle the question of Power—and it is being settled behind our backs before the Congress opens! Blows are being struck against the Winter Palace and it is by such blows that the nails are being driven into the coffin of the political party which has risked such an adventure! Uproar Followed him Gharra While we are here discussing propositions of peace there is a battle on in the streets The Socialist Revolutionaries and the Mensheviki refuse to be involved in what is happening and call upon all public forces to resist the attempt to capture the power

Kuchin delegate of the 12th Army and representative of the Troudoviki I was sent here only for information

* Leni a d T otsky w re both gain t it, but m jo ty f th Congr ss, in l ding its B lshevik c nti g t w e m f stly f Le nd T ot ky ccep d the M rtov resol t l gai tun d d th i oppone t and in du course see t lt tha th solution w ld ot be ied l.—Ed

and I am returning at once to the Front where all the Army Committees consider that the taking of power by the Soviets only three weeks before the Constituent Assembly is a stab in the back of the Army and a crime against the people—' Shouts of Lie! You lie!

When he could be heard again Let's make an end of this adventure in Petrograd! I call upon all delegates to leave this hall in order to save the country and the Revolution! As he went down the aisle in the midst of a deafening noise people surged in upon him threatening

Then Khinchuk, an officer with a long brown goatee speaking suavely and persuasively I speak for the delegates from the Front The Army is perfectly represented in this Congress and furthermore the Army does not consider the Congress of Soviets necessary at this time only three weeks before the opening of the Constituent— shouts and stamping always growing more violent The Army does not consider that the Congress of Soviets has the necessary authority— Soldiers began to stand up all over the hall

Who are you speaking for? What do you represent? they cried

The Central Executive Committee of the Soviet of the Fifth Army the Second F— Regiment the First N— Regiment the Third S— Rifles

When were you elected? You represent the officers not the soldiers! What do the soldiers say about it? Jeers and hoots

We the Front group disclaim all responsibility for what has happened and is happening and we consider it necessary to mobilise all self-conscious revolutionary forces for the salvation of the Revolution! The Front group will leave the Congress The place to fight is out on the streets!

Immense bawling outcry You speak for the Staff—not for the Army!"

I appeal to all reasonable soldiers to leave this Congress!

"Kornilovets! Counter revolutionist! Provocator! were hurled at him

On behalf of the Mensheviki Khinchuk then announced that the only possibility of a peaceful solution was to begin negotiations with the Provisional Government for the formation of a new Cabinet, which would find support in all strata of society He could not proceed for several minutes Raising his voice to a shout he read the Menshevik declaration

Because the Bolsheviki have made a military conspiracy with the aid of the Petrograd Soviet without consulting th other factions and parties we find it impossible to remain in the Congress and therefore withdraw inviting the other groups to follow us and to meet for discussion of the situation!"

Deserter! At intervals in the almost continuous disturbance Hendelman, for th Socialist Revolutionari s could be heard protesting against the bombardment of the Winter Palace "We are opposed to this kind of anarchy

Scarcely had he stepped down than a young lean faced soldier with flashing eyes leaped to the platform and dramatically lift d his hand

Comrades! he cried and th re was a hush My *familia* (name) is Peterson—I speak for the Second Lettish Rifles You have heard the statem nts of two representatives of the Army committees these statements would have some value *if their authors had been representatives of the Army*— Wild applause *But they do not represent the soldiers!* Shaking his fist. The Twelfth

Army has been insisting for a long time upon the re election of the Great Soviet and the Army Committee but just as your own *Tsay-ee-kah* our Committee refused to call a meeting of the representatives of the masses until the end of September so that the reactionaries could elect their own false delegates to this Congress I tell you now the Lettish soldiers have many times said No more resolutions! No more talk! We want deeds—the Power must be in our hands! Let these impostor delegates leave the Congress! The Army is not with them!

The hall rocked with cheering In the first moments of the session stunned by the rapidity of events startled by the sound of cannon the delegates had hesitated For an hour hammer blow after hammer blow had fallen from that tribune welding them together but beating them down *Did they stand then alone? Was Russia rising against them?* Was it true that the Army was marching on Petrograd? Then this clear eyed young soldier had spoken and in a flash they knew it for the truth *This* was the voice of the soldiers—the stirring millions of uniformed workers and peasants were men like them and their thoughts and feelings were the same

More soldiers Gzhelshakh for the Front delegates announcing that they had only decided to leave the Congress by a small majority and that *the Bolshevik members had not even taken part in the vote* as they stood for division according to political parties and not groups Hundreds of delegates from the Front he said are being elected without the participation of the soldiers because the Army Committees are no longer the real representatives of the rank and file Lukianov crying that officers like Kharash and Khinchuk could not represent the Army in this congress —but only the high command The real inhabitants of the trenches want with

all their hearts the transfer of Power into the hands of the Soviets and they expect very much from it! The tide was turning

Then came Abramovich for the *Bund* the organ of the Jewish Social Democrats—his eyes snapping behind thick glasses trembling with rage *

What is taking place now in Petrograd is a monstrous calamity! The *Bund* group joins with the declaration of the Mensheviki and Socialist Revolutionaries and will leave the Congress! He raised his voice and hand Our duty to the Russian proletariat doesn t permit us to remain here and be responsible for these crimes Because the firing on the Winter Palace doesn t cease the Municipal Duma together with the Mensheviki and Socialis Revolutionaries and the Executive Committee of the Peasants Soviet, has decided to perish with the Provisional Government and we are going with them! Unarmed we will expose our breasts to the machine guns of the Terrorists We invite all delegates to this Congress——

The rest was lost in a storm of hoots menaces and curses which rose to a hellish pitch as fifty delegates got up and pushed their way out

Kamenev jangled the bell shouting Keep your seats and we'll go on with our business! And Trotsky standing up with a pale cruel face letting out his rich voice in cool contempt All these so-called Socialist compromisers these frightened Mensheviki Socialist Revolutionaries *Bund*—let them go! They are just so much refuse which will be swept into the garbage heap of history!

Riazanov for the Bolsheviki stated that at the request of the City Duma the Military Revolutionary Committee

R ed is mi k th pe k H took th m f om th P er d press wh h m d th sam m stak Th pe k h d scr bing w H k Eh lich of th B d t Right d d fen ist Ab m h w f th B nd Left d Men h vik Int rn nal st I 1917 h d d ot w gl se h k th rwise —Ed

had sent a delegation to offer negotiations to the Winter Palace In this way we have done everything possible to avoid bloodshed

We hurried from the place stopping for a moment at the room where the Military Revolutionary Committee worked at furious speed engulfing and spitting out panting couriers despatching Commissars armed with power of life and death to all the corners of the city amid the buzz of the telephonographs The door opened a blast of stale air and cigarette smoke rushed out we caught a glimpse of dishevelled men bending over a map under the glare of a shaded electric light Comrade Josephov Dukhvinski a smiling youth with a mop of pale yellow hair made out passes for us

When we came into the chill night all the front of Smolny was one huge park of arriving and departing automobiles above the sound of which could be heard the far off slow beat of the cannon A great motor truck stood there shaking to the roar of its engine Men were tossing bundles into it and others receiving them with guns besid them

Where are you going? I shouted

Down town—all over—everywhere! answered a little workman grinning with a large exultant gesture

We showed our passes Come along! they invited But there ll probably be shooting—— We climbed in the clutch slid home with a raking jar the great car jerked forward we all toppled backward on top of those who were climbing in past the huge fire by the gate and then the fire by the outer gate glowing red on the faces of the workmen with rifles who squatted around it and went bumping at top speed down the Suvorovsky Prospekt swaying from side to side One man tore the wrapping from a bundle and began to hurl handfuls of paper

into the air We imitated him plunging down through the dark street with a tail of white papers floating and eddying out behind The late passerby stooped to pick them up the patrols around bonfires on the corners ran out with uplifted arms to catch them Sometimes armed men loomed up ahead crying *Stoi!* and raising their guns but our chauffeur only yelled something unintelligible and we hurtled on

I picked up a copy of the paper and under a fleeting street light read

*To the Citizens of Russia!**

The Provisional Government is deposed. The State Power has passed into the hands of the organ of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers and Soldiers Deputies the Military Revolutionary Committee which stands at the head of the Petrograd proletariat and *garrison.*

The cause for which the people were fighting immediate proposal of a democratic peace abolition of landlord property rights over the land labor control over production creation of a Soviet Government—that cause is securely achieved

LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTION OF WORKMEN SOLDIERS AND PEASANTS!

Military Revolutionary Committee
Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies

A slant-eyed Mongolian faced man who sat beside me dressed in a goat skin Caucasian cape snapped Look out! Here the provocators always shoot from the windows! We turned into Znamensky Square dark and almost deserted careened around Trubetskoy s brutal statue

* Personally drafted by Lenin —Ed

Отъ Военно Революціоннаго Комитета при Петроградскомъ Совѣтѣ Рабочихъ и Солдатскихъ Депутатовъ.

Къ Гражданамъ Россіи.

Временное Правительство низложено. Государственная власть перешла въ руки органа Петроградскаго Совѣта Рабочихъ и Солдатскихъ Депутатовъ Военно-Революціоннаго Комитета, стоящаго во главѣ Петроградскаго пролетаріата и гарнизона.

Дѣло, за которое боролся народъ: немедленное предложеніе демократическаго мира, отмѣна помѣщичьей собственности на землю, рабочій контроль надъ производствомъ, созданіе Совѣтскаго Правительства — это дѣло обезпечено.

ДА ЗДРАВСТВУЕТЪ РЕВОЛЮЦІЯ РАБОЧИХЪ, СОЛДАТЪ И КРЕСТЬЯНЪ!

Военно Революціонный Комитетъ
при Петроградскомъ Совѣтѣ
Рабочихъ и Солдатскихъ Депутатовъ

25 октября 1917 г. 10 ч. утра.

Proclamation of the Fall of the Provisional Government issued by the Military Revolutionary Committee on the night of November 7th (our calendar) which we helped to distribute from a motor truck just after the surrender of the Winter Palace

and swung down the wide Nevsky three men standing up with rifles ready peering at the windows Behind us the street was alive with people running and stooping We could no longer hear the cannon and the nearer we drew to the Winter Palace end of the city the quieter and more deserted were the streets The City Duma was all brightly lighted Beyond that we made out a dark mass of people and a line of sailors who yelled furiously at us to stop The machine slowed down and we climbed out

It was an astonishing scene Just at the corner of the Ekaterina Canal under an arc light a cordon of armed sailors was drawn across the Nevsky blocking the way to a crowd of people in column of fours There were about three or four hundred of them men in frock coats well dressed women officers—all sorts and conditions of people Among them we recognised many of the delegates from the Congress leaders of the Mensheviki and Socialist Revolutionaries Avksentiev the lean red bearded president of the Peasants Soviets Sarokin Kerensky s spokesman Khinchuk Abramovich and at the head white bearded old Schreider Mayor of Petrograd and Prokopovich Minister of Supplies in the Provisional Government arrested that morning and released I caught sight of Malkin reporter for the *Russian Daily News* Going to die in the Winter Palace he shouted cheerfully The procession stood still but from the front of it came loud argument Schreider and Prokopovich were bellowing at the big sailor who seemed in command

We demand to pass! they cried See these comrades come from the Congress of Soviets! Look at their tickets! We are going to the Winter Palace!

The sailor was plainly puzzled He scratched his head with an enormous hand frowning I have orders from the Committee not to let anybody go to the Winter Pal

ace he grumbled But I will send a comrade to telephone to Smolny

We insist upon passing! We are unarmed! We will march on whether you permit us or not! cried old Schreider, very much excited

I have orders—— repeated the sailor sullenly

Shoot us if you want to! We will pass! Forward! came from all sides ' We are ready to die if you have the heart to fire on Russians and comrades! We bare our breasts to your guns!

No said the sailor looking stubborn I can t allow you to pass

What will you do if we go forward? Will you shoot?

No I m not going to shoot people who haven t any guns We won t shoot unarmed Russian people

We will go forward! What can you do?

We will do something ' replied the sailor evidently at a loss We can t let you pass We will do something

What will you do? What will you do?

Another sailor came up very much irritated We will spank you! he cried energetically And if necessary we will shoot you too Go home now and leave us in peace!

At this there was a great clamour of anger and resentment Prokopovich had mounted some sort of box and waving his umbrella he made a speech

Comrades and citizens! he said Force is being used against us! We cannot have our innocent blood upon the hands of these ignorant men! It is beneath our dignity to be shot down here in the street by switchmen— (What he meant by switchmen I never discovered) Let us return to the Duma and discuss the best means of saving the country and the Revolution!

Whereupon in dignified silence the procession marched

around and back up the Nevsky always in column of fours And taking advantage of the diversion we slipped past the guards and set off in the direction of the Winter Palace

Here it was absolutely dark and nothing moved but pickets of soldiers and Red Guards grimly intent In front of the Kazan Cathedral a three inch field gun lay in the middle of the street slewed sideways from the recoil of its last shot over the roofs Soldiers were standing in every doorway talking in low tones and peering down toward the Police Bridge I heard one voice saying It is possible that we have done wrong At the corners patrols stopped all passersby—and the composition of these patrols was interesting for in command of the regular troops was invariably a Red Guard The shooting had ceased

Just as we came to the Morskaya somebody was shouting The *junkers* have sent word they want us to go and get them out! Voices began to give commands and in the thick gloom we made out a dark mass moving forward silent but for the shuffle of feet and the clinking of arms We fell in with the first ranks

Like a black river filling all the street without song or cheer we poured through the Red Arch where the man just ahead of me said in a low voice Look out comrades! Dont trust them They will fire surely! In the open we began to run stooping low and bunching together and jammed up suddenly behind the pedestal of the Alexander Column

How many of you did they kill? I asked

I dont know About ten

After a few minutes huddling there some hundreds of men the army seemed reassured and without any orders suddenly began again to flow forward By this time in

the light that streamed out of all the Winter Palace windows I could see that the first two or three hundred men were Red Guards with only a few scattered soldiers Over the barricade of firewood we clambered and leaping down inside gave a triumphant shout as we stumbled on a heap of rifles thrown down by the *yunkers* who had stood there On both sides of the main gateway the doors stood wide open light streamed out and from the huge pile came not the slightest sound

Carried along by the eager wave of men we were swept into the right hand entrance opening into a great bare vaulted room the cellar of the East wing from which issued a maze of corridors and stair cases A number of huge packing cases stood about and upon these the Red Guards and soldiers fell furiously battering them open with the butts of their rifles and pulling out carpets curtains linen porcelain plates glassware One man went strutting around with a bronze clock perched on his shoulder another found a plume of ostrich feathers which he stuck in his hat The looting was just beginning when somebody cried Comrades! Don t touch anything! Don t take anything! This is the property of the People! Immediately twenty voices were crying Stop! Put everything back! Don t take anything! Property of the People! Many hands dragged the spoilers down Damask and tapestry were snatched from the arms of those who had them two men took away the bronze clock Roughly and hastily the things were crammed back in their cases and self appointed sentinels stood guard It was all utterly spontaneous Through corridors and up stair-cases the cry could be heard growing fainter and fainter in the distance Revolutionary discipline! Property of the People

We crossed back over to the left entrance in the West

wing There order was also bein, established Clear the Palace' bawled a Red Guard sticking his head throu h an inner door Come comrades let s show that we re not thieves and bandits Everybody out of the Palace except the Commissars until we get sentries posted

Two Red Guards a soldier and an officer stood with revolvers in their hands Another soldier sat at a table behind them with pen and paper Shouts of All out! All out! were heard far and near within and the Army be an to pour throu h the door jostlin, expostulating arguin, As each man appeared he was seized by the self appointed committee who went through his pockets and looked under his coat Everything that was plainly not his property was taken away the man at the table noted it on his paper and it was carried into a little room The most amazin, assortment of objects were thus confiscated statuettes bottles of ink bed spreads worked with the Imperial mono ram candles a small oil paintin, d sk blotters gold handled swords cakes of soap clothes of every description blankets One Red Guard carried three rifles two of which he had taken away from *junkers* another had four portfolios bulgin, with written documents The culprits either sullenly surrendered or plead d like children All talkin, at once the committee explained that stealin, was not worthy of the people s champions often those who had been caught turned around and be an to help go throu h the rest of the comrades [3]

Yunkers came out in bunches of three or four The committee seized upon them with an excess of z al accompanyin, the search with remarks like Ah Provocators! Kornilovists! Counter revolutionists! Murderers of the People! But there was no violence done althou h the *junkers* were terrified. They too had their pockets full of small plunder It was carefully noted down by the

scribe and piled in the little room The *yunkers* were disarmed Now will you take up arms against the People any more? demanded clamouring voices

No answered the *yunkers* one by one Whereupon they were allowed to go free

We asked if we might go inside The committee was doubtful but the big Red Guard answered firmly that it was forbidden Who are you anyway? he asked How do I know that you are not all Kerenskys? (There were five of us two women)*

Pajhal st tovarishchi! Way Comrades! A soldier and a Red Guard appeared in the door waving the crowd aside and other guards with fixed bayonets After them followed single file half a dozen men in civilian dress—the members of the Provisional Government First came Kishkin his face drawn and pale then Rutenberg looking sullenly at the floor Tereshchenko was next glancing sharply around he stared at us with cold fixity They passed in silence the victorious insurrectionists *crowded to see but there were only a few angry mutterings* It was only later that we learned how the people in the street wanted to lynch them and shots were fired —but the sailors brought them safely to Peter Paul

In the meanwhile unrebuked we walked into the Palace There was still a great deal of coming and going of exploring new found apartments in the vast edifice of searching for hidden garrisons of *yunkers* which did not exist We went upstairs and wandered through room after room This part of the Palace had been entered also by

* The five were John Reed Albert Rhys Williams Louise Bryant Bessie Beatty and Alex Gomberg The first four wrote about it and the fifth Gomberg was interviewed concerning the adventure Their accounts differ considerably Reed being the fullest most vivid and most imaginative It is possible that Gomberg left before they finished their stay in the Winter Palace otherwise we cannot explain why they were nearly shot because suspicious illiterate soldiers could not read their Russian passes for Gomberg was Russian-born and spoke Russian fluently —*Ed*

other detachments from the side of the Neva The paint in s statues tapestries and ru_s of the great state apart ments were unharmed in the offices however every desk and cabinet had been ransacked the papers scattered over the floor and in the livin_ rooms beds had been stripped of their coverings and ward robes wrenched open The most highly prized loot was clothing which the working people needed In a room where furniture was stored we came upon two soldiers ripping the elaborate Spanish leather upholstery from chairs They explained it was to make boots with

The old Palace servants in their blue and red and gold uniforms stood nervously about from force of habit re peatin_ You can t go in there *barin!* It is forbid den—— We penetrated at length to the gold and mala chite chamber with crimson brocade hangings where the Ministers had been in session all that day and ni_ht and where the *shveit_ari* had betrayed them to the Red Guards The long table covered with green baize was just as they had left it, under arrest. Before each empty seat was pen and ink and paper· the papers were scribbled over with beginnings of plans of action rough drafts of proclama tions and manifestos Most of these were scratched out as their futility became evident and the rest of the sheet covered with absent minded geometrical designs as the writers sat despondently listening while Minister after Minister proposed chimerical schemes I took one of the e scribbled pa_es in the hand writing of Konovalov which read 'The Provisional Government appeals to all classes to support the Provisional Government—

All this time it must be remembered although the Win ter Palace was surrounded the Government was in con stant communication with the Front and with provincial Russia The Bolsheviki had ¬aptured the Ministry of

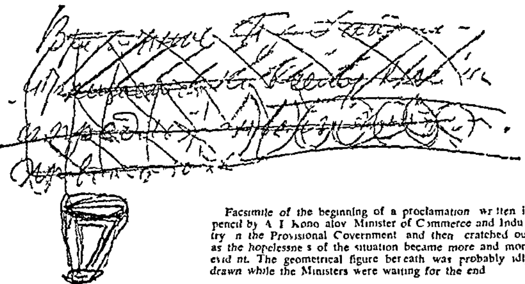
War early in the morning but they did not know of the military telegraph office in the attic nor of the private telephone line connecting it with the Winter Palace In that attic a young officer sat all day pouring out over the country a flood of appeals and proclamations and when he heard that the Palace had fallen put on his hat and walked calmly out of the building

Interested as we were for a considerable time we didn't notice a change in the attitude of the soldiers and Red Guards around us As we strolled from room to room a small group followed us until by the time we reached the great picture gallery where we had spent the afternoon with the *yunkers* about a hundred men surged in after us One giant of a soldier stood in our path his face dark with sullen suspicion

Who are you? he growled What are you doing here? The others massed slowly around staring and beginning to mutter *Provocatori!* I heard somebody say Looters! I produced our passes from the Military Revolutionary Committee The soldier took them gingerly turned them upside down and looked at them without comprehension Evidently he could not read He handed them back and spat on the floor *Bumagi!* Papers! said he with contempt The mass slowly began to close in like wild cattle around a cow puncher on foot Over their heads I caught sight of an officer looking helpless and shouted to him He made for us shouldering his way through

I'm the Commissar he said to me Who are you? What is it? The others held back waiting I produced the papers

You are foreigners? he rapidly asked in French "It is very dangerous Then he turned to the mob



Facsimile *of* the beginning of a proclamation wr tten in pencil by A I Kono alov Minister of C mmerce and Indu try n the Provisional Covernment and then cratched out as the *hopelessne s* of the situation became more and more evid nt. The geometrical figure ber eath was probably idly drawn while the Ministers were waiting for the end

holding up our documents Comrades! he cried These people are foreign comrades—from America They have come here to be able to tell their countrymen about the bravery and the revolutionary discipline of the proletarian army!

How do you know that? replied the big soldier I tell you they are provocators! They say they came here to observe the revolutionary discipline of the proletarian army but they have been wandering freely through the Palace and how do we know they haven t got their pockets full of loot?

Pravilno! snarled the others pressing forward

Comrades! Comrades! appealed the officer, sweat standing out on his forehead I am Commissar of the Military Revolutionary Committee Do you trust me? Well I tell you that these passes are signed with the same names that are signed to my pass!

He led us down through the Palace and out through a door opening onto the Neva quay before which stood the usual committee going through pockets You have narrowly escaped he kept muttering wiping his face

What happened to the Women s Battalion? we asked

Oh—the women! He laughed They were all huddled up in a back room We had a terrible time deciding what to do with them—many were in hysterics and so on So finally we marched them up to the Finland Station and put them on a train for Levashovo where they have a camp [4]

We came out into the cold nervous night murmurous with obscure armies on the move electric with patrols From across the river where loomed the darker mass of Peter Paul came a hoarse shout Underfoot the sidewalk was littered with broken stucco from the cornice of the Palace where two shells from the battleship *Avrora*

had struck that was the only dama_e done by the bombardment

It was now after three in the mornin_ On the Nevsky all the street lights were a_ain shining the cannon gone and the only signs of war were Red Guards and soldiers squatting around fires The city was quiet—probably never so quiet in its history on that ni_ht not a sin_le hold up occurred not a sin_le robbery

But the City Duma Building was all illuminated We mounted to the galleried Alexander Hall hung with its great gold framed red shrouded Imperial portraits About a hundred people were grouped around the platform where Skobelev was speakin_ He urged that the Committee of Public Safety be expanded so as to unite all the anti Bolshevik elements in one huge organisation to be called the Committee for Salvation of Country and Revolution And as we looked on the Committee for Salvation was formed—that Committee which was to develop into the most powerful enemy of the Bolsheviki appearing in the next week sometimes under its own partisan name and sometimes as the strictly non partisan Committee of Public Safety

Dan Gotz Avksentiev were there some of the insurgent Soviet delegates members of the Executive Committee of the Peasants Soviets old Prokopovich and even members of the Council of the Republic—amon_ whom Vinaver and other Cadets Lieber cried that the convention of Soviets was not a legal convention that the old *Tsay-ee kah* was still in office An appeal to the country was drafted

We hailed a cab Where to? But when we said Smolny the *i voshchik* shook his head *Niet!* said he there are devils It was only after weary wan

dering that we found a driver willing to take us—and he wanted thirty rubles and stopped two blocks away

The windows of Smolny were still ablaze, motors came and went and around the still leaping fires the sentries huddled close eagerly asking everybody the latest news The corridors were full of hurrying men hollow-eyed and dirty In some of the committee rooms people lay sleeping on the floor their guns beside them In spite of the seceding delegates the hall of meetings was crowded with people roaring like the sea As we came in Kamenev was reading the list of arrested Ministers The name of Tereshchenko was greeted with thunderous applause shouts of satisfaction laughter Rutenburg came in for less and at the mention of Palchinsky a storm of hoots angry cries cheers burst forth It was announced that Chudnovsky had been appointed Commissar of the Winter Palace

Now occurred a dramatic interruption A big peasant his bearded face convulsed with rage mounted the platform and pounded with his fist on the presidium table

We Socialist Revolutionaries insist upon the immediate release of the Socialist Ministers arrested in the Winter Palace! Comrades! Do you know that four comrades who risked their lives and their freedom fighting against tyranny of the Tsar have been flung into Peter Paul prison—the historical tomb of Liberty? In the uproar he pounded and yelled Another delegate climbed up beside him and pointed at the presidium

Are the representatives of the revolutionary masses going to sit quietly here while the *Okhrana* of the Bolsheviki tortures their leaders?

Trotsky was gesturing for silence These comrades who are now caught plotting the crushing of the Soviets with the adventurer Kerensky—is there any reason to han

dle them with gloves? After July 16th and 18th they didn t use much ceremony with us! With a triumphant ring in his voice he cried Now that the *oborontsi* and the faint hearted have gone and the whole task of defendin, and savin, the Revolution rests on our shoulders it is particu larly necessary to work—work—work! We have decided to die rather than give up!

Followed him a Commissar from Tsarskoye Selo pant ing and covered with the mud of his ride 'The garrison of Tsarskoye Selo is on guard at the gates of Petrograd ready to defend the Soviets and the Military Revolutionary Committee! Wild cheers 'The Cycle Corps sent from the front has arrived at Tsarskoye and the soldiers are now with us they recognise the power of the Soviets the neces ity of immediate transfer of land to the peasants and industrial control to the workers The Fifth Battalion of Cyclists stationed at Tsarskoye is ours

Then the delegate of the Third Cycle Battalion In the midst of delirious enthusiasm he told how the cycle corps had been ordered *three days before* from the South west front to the defence of Petrograd They suspected how ever the meaning of the order and at the station of Per dolsk were met by representatives of the Fifth Bat talion from Tsarskoye A joint meeting was held and it was di covered that among the cyclists not a sin le man was found willin, to shed the blood of his brothers or to support a Government of bourgeois and land owners!

Kapelinski for the Mensheviki Internationalists pro posed to elect a special committee to find a peaceful solu tion to the civil war There isn t any peaceful solution! bellowed the crowd Victory is the only solution! The vote was overwhelmin,ly against and the Mensheviki Internationalists left the Congress in a whirlwind of jocu lar insults There was no longer any panic fear

Kamenev from the platform shouted after them The Mensheviki Internationalists claimed emergency for the question of a peaceful solution but they always voted for suspension of the order of the day in favour of declarations of factions which wanted to leave the Congress It is evident finished Kamenev, that the withdrawal of all these renegades was decided upon beforehand[1]

The assembly decided to ignore the withdrawal of the factions and proceed to the appeal to the workers soldiers and peasants of all Russia

*To Workers Soldiers and Peasants**

The Second All Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers and Soldiers Deputies has opened It represents the great majority of the Soviets There are also a number of Peasant deputies Based upon the will of the great majority of the workers soldiers and peasants based upon the triumphant uprising of the Petrograd workmen and soldiers the Congress assumes the Power

The Provisional Government is deposed Most of the members of the Provisional Government are already arrested

The Soviet authority will at once propose an immediate democratic peace to all nations and an immediate truce on *all fronts It will assure the free transfer of landlord* crown and monastery lands to the Land Committees defend the soldiers rights enforcing a complete democratisation of the Army establish workers control over production ensure the convocation of the Constituent Assembly at the proper date take means to supply bread to the cities and articles of first necessity to the villages and secure to all nationalities living in Russia a real right to independent existence

The Congress resolves that all local power shall be transferred to the Soviets of Workers Soldiers and Peasants Deputies which must enforce revolutionary order

* Drafted by Le perso ally this appeal occupi d the enti e fir t p ge of *R bochii I S ld t* on No ember 8

The Congress calls upon the soldiers in the trenches to be watchful and steadfast The Congress of Soviets is sure that the revolutionary Army will know how to defend the Revolution a ainst all attacks of Imperialism until the new Government shall have brought about the conclusion of the democratic peace which it will directly propose to all nations The new Government will take all necessary steps to secure everythin needful to the revolutionary Army by means of a determined policy of requisition and taxation of the propertied classes and also to improve the situation of soldiers families

The Kornilovets—Kerensky Kaledin and others are endeavouring to lead troops against Petrograd Several regiments deceived by Kerensky have sided with the insurgent People

Soldiers! Make active resistance to the Kornilovets—Kerensky! Be on guard!

Railway men! Stop all troop-trains being sent by Kerensky a ainst Petroor d!

Soldiers Workers Clerical employees! The destiny of the Revolution and democratic peace is in your hands!

Long live the Revolution!

The All Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies
Delegates from the Peasants Soviets

It was exactly 5 17 A M when Krylenko staggering with fatigue climbed to the tribune with a telegram in his hand

Comrades! From the Northern Front The Twelfth Army sends greetings to the Congress of Soviets announcing the formation of a Military Revolutionary Committee which has taken over the command of the Northern Front! Pandemonium men weeping embracing each other General Chermisov has recognised the Committee —Commissar of the *Provisional* Government Voitinsky has resigned!

So Lenin and the Petrograd workers had decided on insurrection the Petrograd Soviet had overthrown the Provisional Government and thrust the *coup d etat* upon the Congress of Soviets Now there was all great Russia *to win—and then the world' Would Russia follow* and rise? And the world—what of it? Would the peoples answer and rise a red world tide?

Although it was six in the morning night was yet heavy and chill There was only a faint unearthly pallor stealing over the silent streets dimming the watch fires the shadow of a terrible dawn grey rising over Russia

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1 Events of November 7th

From 4 A M until dawn Kerensky remained at the Petrograd Staff Headquarters sending orders to the Cossacks and to the *yunkers* in the Officers *Schools in and around Petrograd*—all of whom answered that they were unable to move

Colonel Polkovnikov Commandant of the City hurried between the Staff and the Winter Palace evidently without any plan Kerensky gave an order to open the bridges three hours passed without any action and then an officer and five men went out on their own initiative and putting to flight a picket of Red Guards *opened the Nicolai Bridge Immediately after they left* however some sailors closed it again

Kerensky ordered the print shop of *Rabochi Put* to be occupied The officer detailed to the work was promised a squad of soldiers two hours later he was promised some *yunkers* then the order was forgotten

An attempt was made to recapture the Post Office and the *Telegraph Agency a few shots were fired and the* Government troops announced that they would no longer oppose the Soviets

To a delegation of *yunkers* Kerensky said As chief of the Provisional Government and as Supreme Commander I know nothing I cannot advise you but as a veteran *revolutionist* I

appeal to you young revolutionists to remain at your posts and defend the conquests of the Revolution.

Orders of Kishkin November 7th

By decree of the Provisional Government I am invested with extraordinary powers for the reestablishment of order in Petrograd in complete command of all civil and military author ities

In accordance with the pov ers conferred upon me by the Provis onal Government, I herewith relieve from his functions as Commandant of the Petrograd Military District Colonel Georg Polkovnikov

App al to the Popul ti n signed by Vice Premier Konovalov November 7th

Citiz ns Save the fatherla d the republic and your freedom Maniacs ha e r sed a re olt a ainst the only go *ernmental pow er* chose by the people the Pro isional Government.

"The m mbers of the Provisional Government fulfil their duty remain at their post and continue to work for the good of the fatherland the reestablishment of order and the convocation of the Co tituent Assembly future sovere gn of Russia nd of all the Rus ian peoples

Cit ens you must support the Pro is onal Government. You mu t strengthen its uthority You must oppose these maniacs th whom are joined all enemies of liberty and order and the followe of the T ar st égime in order to wreck the Constituent Assembly de t y the conquests of the Revolution and the future of our d ar fatherl nd

C t en Org n se around the Provisional Government for the defence of its tempor ry author ty in the name of order an l the happine s of all peoples

P ocl m t on of the Pro s onal Gov nm nt

"The Petrograd Sov t has declared the Provisional Government o erthrown. and has demanded that the Governmental power be turned o er to it, under threat of bombarding the Winter Pal ce with the cann n of Peter P ul Fortress and of the cruiser *A o a* anchored in the Neva.

"The Government can surrender its authority only to the Constituent Assembly for that reason it has decided not to submit, and to demand aid from the population and the Army A telegram has been sent to the *Stavka* and an answer received says that a strong detachment of troops is being sent

Let the Army and the People reject the irresponsible attempts of the Bolsheviki to create a revolt in the rear

About 9 A M Kerensky left for the Front

Toward evening two soldiers on bicycles presented themselves at the Staff Headquarters as delegates of the garrison of Peter Paul Fortress Entering the meeting room of the Staff where Kishkin Rutenburg Paltchinski General Bagratouni Colonel Paradielov and Count Tolstoy were gathered they demanded the immediate surrender of the Staff threatening in case of refusal to bombard headquarters After two panicky conferences the Staff retreated to the Winter Palace and the headquarters were occupied by Red Guards

Late in the afternoon several Bolshevik armoured cars cruised around the Palace Square and Soviet soldiers tried unsuccessfully to parley with the *yunkers*

Firing on the Palace began about 7 o clock in the evening

At 10 P M began an artillery bombardment from three sides in which most of the shells were blanks only three small shrapnels striking the façade of the Palace

2 Kerensky in Flight

Leaving Petrograd in the morning of November 7th Kerensky arrived by automobile at Gatchina where he demanded a special train Toward evening he was in Ostrov Province of Pskov The next morning extraordinary session of the local Soviet of Workers and Soldiers Deputies with participation of Cossack delegates —there being 6 000 Cossacks at Ostrov

Kerensky spoke to the assembly appealing for aid against the Bolsheviki and addressed himself almost exclusively to the Cossacks The soldier delegates protested

Why did you come here? shouted voices Kerensky answered "To ask the Cossacks assistance in crushing the Bolshevik insurrection! At this there were violent protestations which increased wh n he continued I broke the Kornilov attempt and I will

break the Bolsheviki' The noise became so great that he had to leave the platform

The soldier deput es and the Ussuri Cossacks decided to arrest Kerensky but the Don Cossacks prevented them and got him away by train A Military Revolutionary Committee set up d ring the day tried to inform the garrison of Pskov but the telephone and telegraph lines were cut.

Kere isky did not arrive at Pskov Revolutionary soldiers had cut the railway line to prevent troops being sent against the cap tal On the ni ht of November 8th he arrived by a omobil at Lu a where he was well received by the Death Battalions sta tioned there

Next day he took tra n for the South West Front and visited th Army Committee at headquarters The Fifth Army however was w ld with enthus asm over the news of the Bolshevik success and the Army Committee was unable to promise Kerensky any support

From there he went to the *Stavka* at Moghilev where he or dered ten regime ts from different parts of the Front to move ga nst Petrograd The soldiers almost unan mously refused nd those reg ments which did start halted on the way About five thousand Co sa ks finally followed him.

3 Looting of the W n r Palace

I do not mean to m intain that there was no looting in the Winter P la Both after and *befo e* the W nter Palace fell there w con iderable p lfering. The statement of the Socialist Revolu tionary paper *N od* and of members of the City Duma to t effect th t prec ous objects to the value of 500 000 000 rubles had been stolen was however a gross exaggeration.

The most im ortant art treasures of the Palace—paintings statues tape tries are porcelains and armories—had been transferred to Moscow during the month of Sep ember and they were still in good order in the basement of the Imperial Palace there t n d ys after the captu e of the Kremlin by Bolshev k troops I can personally te tify to this

Ind viduals however especially the general publ c wh ch was allowed to circulate freely through the Winter Palace for seve al days after its capture made away w th table silver clocks bed ding mirrors and some odd vases of valuable porcelain and semi precious stone to the value of about $50 000

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Petrograd On November 16th the Winter Palace was closed to the publ c while the inventory was being made

During the last week in November a decree was issued by the Council of Peoples Commissars changing the name of the W'nter Pal ce to Peoples Museum" entrusting it to the com plete charge of the ar stic archæologic l commission, and declar ing th t henceforth all Governmental activities within its walls were prohibited

4 P pe of the Womens Battalion

Immediately following the taking of the Winter Palace all sorts of sensational stories were published in the anti Bolshevik press and told in the City Duma about the fate of the Womens Bat talion def nding the Palace It was said that some of th g rl sold er had been thrown from the windows into the street most of the rest had been v olated and many had committed suicide s a re ult of the horrors they had gone through

The City Duma appointed a commission to investigate the matt On November 16th the commission returned from Leva sho o h adqu rter of the Womens B ttalion Madame Tyr ko reported that the girls had been at first taken to the barrack of the Pavlovsky Regiment and that there some of them had b en badly treated but that at present most of them were t Levash vo and th rest scattered about the city in pri te houses D Mandelbaum another of the comm ssion testified d ly that n e of the women had been thrown out of the win dows of the W nter Palace that n n were wounded that three had been ol ted a d that one had comm tted su cide leaving a note which s d that she h d been disappointed *in* her ideals

On No ember 21st the M litary Re olutionary *Committee* o'fi ially di lved the Womens Battalion at the request of the girls them el es wh retu ned to civil an clothes

In Lou se Bryant s book Six Red Months in Russia, tl ere is an interesting description of the girl soldiers during this time

Th d ot in th p bl hed ll ction f d crees Th Winte P l i w ll d bef W P t d all in ti ly Stat H rm ge M eum Th looting f th P l c wa mor xtens th Reed ggest b h t th phys l d m ge was l ght is onfirmed by oth sou es—*Ed*

Ari d Tyrkov W'lliams Member f th Cen l E cuti Comm tt t the Cadet Party There is no *mem* on f this m tt in h mem ir but there is no so to doubt the ccuracy of Reed port—*Ed*

The Soviet Government immediately created a special commission composed of artists and archaeologists to recover the stolen objects On November 1st* two proclamations were issued

"CITIZENS OF PETROGRAD!

"We urgently ask all citizens to exert every effort to find whatever possible of the objects stolen from the Winter Palace in the night of November 7 8 * and to forward them to the Commandant of the Winter Palace

Receivers of stolen goods antiquarians and all who are proved to be hiding such objects will be held legally responsible and punished with all severity

Commissars for the Protection of Museums and Artistic Collections
G YATMANOV B MANDELBAUM

* * *

"TO REGIMENTAL AND FLEET COMMITTEES

"In the night of November 7 8 in the Winter Palace which is the inalienable property of the Russian people valuable objects of art were stolen

We urgently appeal to all to exert every effort so that the stolen objects are returned to the Winter Palace

"Commissars
G YATMANOV B MANDELBAUM

About half the loot was recovered some of it in the baggage of foreigners leaving Russia

A conference of artists and archaeologists held at the suggestion of Smolny appointed a commission to make an inventory of the Winter Palace treasures which was given complete charge of the Palace and of all artistic collections and State museums in

Apparently Reed has updated the Old Style calendar by adding 13 days in the second of these [illegible] to do so in the first November 7 8 originally read October 25 6 [illegible] the night of the capture of the Winter Palace as dated by the Old Style calendar November 1 should be the same procedure read November 14 This proclamation is not reproduced in the most recent Soviet compilation of The Decrees of the Soviet Power no the documents of the Military Revolutionary Committee but a number of decrees on the looting of the Winter Palace are in those compilation One of the most important of these is an order of the Military Revolutionary Committee dated November 10 (November 3 Old Style) to make a search and seizure of objects looted from the Winter Palace in pawnshops markets shops of dealers in antiques and private homes —*Ed*

post and fulfil his duty toward bleeding Russia It must be remembered that the l ast interference with existin, Army organisations can bring on irreparable misfortunes by open ing the Front to the enemy Therefore it is indispensable to preserve at any price the morale of the troops by assuring complete order and the preservation of the Army from new hocks and by maintaining absolute confid nce between officers and their subordinates I order all the chiefs and Commissars in the name of the safety of the country to stay at their posts as I myself retain the post of Supreme Commander until the Provisional Government of the Re public shall declare its will

In answer this placard on all the walls

From the All Russian Congress of Soviets

'The ex Ministers Konovalov Kishkin Tereshchenko Mali antovitch Nikitin and others have been arrested by the Military Revolutionary Committee Kerensky has fled All Army organisations are ordered to take every measure for the immediate arrest of Kerensky and his convevance to Petrograd

All assistance given to Kerensky will be punished as a serious crime against the state

With brakes released the Military Revolutionary Com mittee whirled throwin, off orders appeals decrees like sparks[1] Kornilov was ordered brought to Petrograd Members of the Peasant I and Committees impris oned by the Provisional Government were declared free Capital punishment in the army was abolished Govern ment employees were ordered to continue their work and threatened with severe penalties if they refused All pillage disorder and speculation were forbidden under pain of death Temporary Commissars were appointed to the var

CHAPTER V

PLUNGING AHEAD

Thursday November 8th Day broke on a city in the wildest excitement and confusion a whole nation heaving up in long hissing swells of storm Superficially all was quiet hundreds of thousands of people retired at a prudent hour got up early and went to work In Petrograd the street-cars were running the stores and restaurants open theatres going an exhibition of paintings advertised All the complex routine of common life—humdrum even in war time—proceeded as usual Nothing is so astounding as the vitality of the social organism—how it persists feeding itself clothing itself amusing itself in the face of he worst calamities

The air was full of rumours about Kerensky who was said to have raised the Front and to be leading a great army against the capital *Volia Naroda* published a *prika* launched by him at Pskov

The disorders caused by the insane attempt of the Bolsheviki *place the country on the verge of a precipice* and demand the effort of our entire will our courage and the devotion of every one of us to win through the terrible trial which the fatherland is undergoing

Until the declaration of the composition of the new Government—if one is formed—every one ought to remain at his

us The Cossacks of the Petrograd garrison to their honour have not justified the hope of the People s ene mies

Cossack brothers! The All Russian Congress of Soviets extends to you a fraternal hand. Long live the brotherhood of the Cossacks with the soldiers workers and peasants of all Russia!

On the other side what a storm of proclamations posted up hand bills scattered everywhere newspapers—scream ing and cursing and prophesying evil Now raged the bat tle of the printing press—all other weapons being in the hands of the Soviets

First the appeal of the Committee for Salvation of Country and Revolution flung broadcast over Russia and Europe [2]

To the Citizens of the Russian Republic!

Contrary to the will of the revolutionary masses on November 7th the Bolsheviki of Petrograd criminally arrested part of the Provisional Government dispersed the Council of the Republic and proclaimed an illegal power Such violence committed a inst the Government of revolutionary Russi at the moment of its greatest external danger is an in describable crime a ainst the fatherland

The insurrection of the Bolsheviki deals a mortal blow to the cause of national defence and postpones immeasurably the moment of peace so greatly desired

Ci il war be un by the Bolsheviki threatens to deliver th country to the horrors of anarchy and counter revolution and c s the failure of the Constituent Assembly which must affirm the republican regime and transmit to the People for ever their right to the land

Preservin the continuity of the only legal Governm ntal power the Committee for Salvation of Country and Revolu

ious Ministries Foreign Affairs Vuritsky* and Trotsky Interior and Justice Rykov Labor Shliapnikov Finance Menzhinsky Public Welfare Madame Kollontai Commerce Ways and Communications Riazanov Navy the sailor Korbir Posts and Telegraphs Spiro Theatres Muraviov State Printing Office Gherbychev for the City of Petrograd Lieutenant Nesterov for the Northern Front Pozern

To the Army appeal to set up Military Revolutionary Committees To the railway workers to maintain order especially not to delay the transport of food to the cities and the front In return they were promised representation in the Ministry of Ways and Communications

Cossack brothers! (said one proclamation) You are bein led against Petrograd They want to force you into battle with the revolutionary workers and soldiers of the capital Do not believe a word that is said by our common enemies the land-owners and the capitalists

At our Congress are represented all the conscious organisations of workers soldiers and peasants of Russia The Congress wishes also to welcome into its midst the worker Cossacks The Generals of the Black Band henchmen of the land owners of Nicolai the Cruel are our enemies

They tell you that the Soviets wish to confiscate the lands of the Cossacks This is a lie It is only from the great Cossack landlords that the Revolution will confiscate the land to give it to the people

Organise Soviets of Cossacks Deputies! Join with the Soviets of Workers and Soldiers Deputies!

Show the Black Band that you are not traitors to the People and that you do not wish to be cursed by the whole of revolutionary Russia!

Cossack brothers execute no orders of the enemies of the people Send your delegates to Petrograd to talk it over with

* No doubt should be U t ky—*Ed*

counter revolution will profit by the anarchy called forth by the Bolsheviki and will deprive you of land and freedom

The newspapers were as violent

Our duty (said the *Dielo Naroda*) is to unmask these traitors to the working-class Our duty is to mobilise all our forces and mount guard over the cause of the Revolution!

Izvestia for the last time speaking in the name of the old *Tsay-ee kah* threatened awful retribution

As for the Congress of Soviets we affirm that there has been no Congress of Soviets! We affirm that it was merely a private conference of the Bolshevik faction! And in that case they have no right to cancel the powers of the *Tsay ee kah*

Novaya Zhizn while pleading for a new Government that should unite all the Socialist partie criticised severely the action of the Socialist Revolutionaries and the Mensheviki in quitting the Congress and pointed out that the Bolshevik insurrection meant one thing very clearly that all illusions about coalition with the bourgeoisie were henceforth demonstrated vain

Rabochi Put blossomed out as *Pravda* Lenin s newspaper which had been suppressed in July It crowed bristling

Workers soldiers peasants! In March you struck down the tyranny of the clique of nobles Yesterday you struck down the tyranny of the bourgeois gang

The first task now is to guard the approaches to Petrograd

tion established on the night of November 7th takes the initiative in forming a new Provisional Government which, basing itself on the forces of democracy will conduct the country to the Constituent Assembly and save it from anarchy and counter revolution The Committee for Salvation summons you citizens to refuse to recognise the power of violence Do not obey its orders!

Rise for the defence of the country and Revolution!

Support the Committee for Salvation!

Signed by the Council of the Russian Republic the Municipal Duma of Petrograd the *Tsay-ee-kah* (*First Congress*) the Executive Committee of the Peasants Soviets and from the Congress itself the Front group the factions of Socialist Revolutionaries Mensheviki Populist Socialists Unified Social Democrats and the group Yedinstvo

Then posters from the Socialist Revolutionary party the Mensheviki *oborontsi* Peasants Soviets again from the Central Army Committee the *Tsentroflot*

Famine will crush Petrograd! (they cried) The German armies will trample on our liberty Black Hundred *pogroms* will spread over Russia if we all—conscious workers soldiers citizens—do not unite

Do not trust the promises of the Bolsheviki! The promise of immediate peace—is a lie! The promise of bread—a hoax! The promise of land—a fairy tale!

They were all in this manner

Comrades! You have been basely and cruelly deceived! The seizure of power has been accomplished by the Bolsheviki alone They concealed their plot from the other Socialist parties composing the Soviet

You have been promised land and freedom but the

tumult the Mayor announced that the Bolsheviki already were violatin, Municipal autonomy by appointing Com missars in many departments

The Bolshevik speaker shouted trying to make himself heard that the decision of the Con,ress of Soviets meant that all Russia backed up the action of the Bolsheviki

You! he cried You are not the real representative of the people of Petro,r,d! Shrieks of Insult! Insult! The old Mayor with dignity reminded him that the Duma was elected by the freest possibl popular vote Yes he answered but that was a long time ago—like the *Tsay ee kah*—like the Army Committee"

'There has been no new Con,ress of Soviets! they yelled at him

"The Bolshevik faction refuses to remain any lon*er in this nest of counter revolution— Uproar —and we de mand a re election of the Duma Whereupon the Bolsheviki left the chamber followed by cries of German a,ents! Down with the traitors!

Shin*ariov Cadet then demanded that all Municipal functionaries who had consented to be Commissars of the Military Revolutionary Committee be discharged from their position and indicted Schreider was on his feet putting a motion to the effect that the Duma protested a ainst the menace of the Bolsheviki to dissolve it and as the legal representative of the population it would refuse to leave its post

Outside the Alexander Hall was crowded for the meet in, of the Committee for Salvation and Skobelev was a,ain speakin, Never yet he said was the fate of the Revolution so acute never yet did the question of the existence of the Russian state excite so much anxiety never yet did history put so harshly and categorically the question—is Russia to be or not to be! The great hour for

The second is definitelv to disarm the counter revolutionary elements of Petrograd

The third is definitely to organise the revolutionary power and assure the realisation of the popular programme

What few Cadet organs appeared and the bourgeoisie generally adopted a detached ironical attitude toward the whole business a sort of contemptuous I told you so to the other parties Influential Cadets were to be seen hovering around the Municipal Duma and on the outskirts of the Committee for Salvation Other than that, the bourgoisie lay low biding its hour—which could not be far off That the Bolsheviki would remain in power longer than three days never occurred to anybody—except perhaps to Lenin Trotsky the Petrograd workers and the simpler soldiers

In the high amphitheatrical Nicolai Hall that aft r noon I saw the Duma sitting in *permanence* tempestuous grouping around it all the forces of opposition The old Mayor Schreider majestic with his white hair and b ard was describing his visit to Smolny the night before to protest in the name of the Municipal Self Government The Duma being the only existing legal Government in the city elected by equal direct and secret suffrage would not recognise the new power he had told Trotsky And Trotsky had answered There is a constitutional remedy for that The Duma can be dissolved and re elected At this report there was a furious outcry

If one recognises a Government by bayon t continued the old man addressing the Duma well we have one but I consider legitimate only a Government recognised by the people by the majority and not one created by the usurpation of a minority! Wild applause on all benches except those of the Bolsheviki Amid renew d

The crowd was in high spirits 'These Bolsheviki will try to dictate to the *intelligentsia?* We ll show them' Nothing could be more striking than the contrast between this assemblage and the Congress of Soviets There great masses of shabby soldiers grimy workmen peasants—poor men bent and scarred in the brute stru le for existence here the Menshevik and Social Revolutionary leaders—Avksentievs Dans Liebers —the former Socialist Ministers—Skobelevs Chernovs —rubbed shoulders with Cadets like oily Shatsky sleek Vinaver with journalists students intellectuals of almost all camps This Duma crowd was well fed well dressed I did not see more than three proletarians among them all

News came Kornilov s faithful *Tekhintsi** had slaugh tered his guards at Bykhov and he had escaped Kaledin was marching north The Soviet of Moscow had set up a Milit ry Revolutionary Committee and was negotiating with the commandant of the city for possession of the arsenal so that the workers might be armed

With these facts was mixed an astounding jumble of rumours distortions and plain lies For instance an intelligent young Cadet formerly private secretary to Miliukov and then to Tereshchenko drew us aside and told us all about the taking of the Winter Palace

The Bolsheviki were led by German and Austrian officers he affirmed

Is that so? we replied politely 'How do you know?

A friend of mine was there and saw them

How could he tell they were German officers?

Oh because they wore German uniforms!

There were hundreds of such absurd tales and they were not only solemnly published by the anti Bolshevik press but believed by the most unlikely persons—Social

* See Notes and Explanations.

the salvation of the Revolution has arrived and in consciousness thereof we observe the close union of the live forces of the revolutionary democracy by whose organised will a centre for the salvation of the country and the Revolution has already been created And much of the same sort We shall die sooner than surrender our post!

Amid violent applause it was announced that the Union of Railway Workers had joined the Committee for Salvation A few moments later the Post and Telegraph Employees came in then some Mensheviki Internationalists entered the hall to cheers The Railway men said they did not recognise the Bolsheviki and had taken the entire railroad apparatus into their own hands refusing to entrust it to any usurpatory power The Telegraphers delegate declared that the operators had flatly refused to work *their instruments as long as the Bolshevik Commissar* was in the office The Postmen would not deliver or accept mail at Smolny All the Smolny telephones were cut off With great glee it was reported how Uritsky had gone to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to demand the secret treaties and how Neratov had put him out The Government employees were all stopping work

It was war—war deliberately planned Russian fashion war by strike and sabotage As we sat there the chairman read a list of names and assignments so-and so was to make the round of the Ministries another was to visit the banks some ten or twelve were to work the barracks and persuade the soldiers to remain neutral— Russian soldiers do not shed the blood of your brothers! a committee was to go and confer with Kerensky still others were despatched to provincial cities to form branches of the Committee for Salvation and link together the anti Bolshevik elements

mittees it calls upon the population of the town of Petrograd to meet with decisive repulse all attempts to enter by force private apartments not stopping at the use of arms in the interests of the self-defence of citizens

Up on the corner of the Liteiny five or six Red Guards and a couple of sailors had surrounded a news-dealer and were demanding that he hand over his copies of the Menshevik *Rabochaya Gazeta* (Workers Gazette) Angrily he shouted at them shaking his first as one of the sailors tore the papers from his stand An ugly crowd had gathered around abusing the patrol One little workman kept explaining doggedly to the people and the news dealer over and over again It has Kerensky s proclamation in it It says we killed Russian people It will make bloodshed

Smolny was tenser than ever if that were possible The same running men in the dark corridors squads of workers with rifles leaders with bulging portfolios arguing explaining giving orders as they hurried anxiously along surrounded by friends and lieutenants Men literally out of themselves living prodigies of sleeplessness and work —men unshaven filthy with burning eyes who drove upon their fixed purpose full speed on engines of exaltation So much they had to do so much! Take over the Government organise the City keep the garrison loyal fight the Duma and the Committee for Salvation keep out the Germans prepare to do battle with Kerensky inform the provinces what had happened propagandise from Archangel to Vladivostok Government and Municipal employees refusing to obey their Commissars post and telegraph refusing them communication, railroads stonily ignoring their appeals for trains Kerensky coming the garrison not altogether to be trusted the

ist Revolutionaries and Mensheviki who had always been distinguished by their sober devotion to facts

But more serious were the stories of Bolshevik violence and terrorism For example it was said and printed that the Red Guards had not only thoroughly looted the Winter Palace but that they had massacred the *yunkers* after disarming them had killed some of the Ministers in cold blood and as for the woman soldiers most of them had been violated and many had committed suicide because of the tortures they had gone through All these stories were swallowed whole by the crowd in the Duma. And worse still the mothers and fathers of the students and of the women read these frightful details *often accompanied by lists of names* and toward nightfall the Duma began to be besieged by frantic citizens

A typical case is that of Prince Tumanov whose body it was announced in many newspapers had been found floating in the Moika Canal A few hours later this was denied by the Prince s family who added that the Prince was under arrest so the press identified the dead man as General Demissov The General having also come to life we investigated and could find no trace of any body *having been found whatever*

As we left the Duma building two boy scouts were distributing hand bills to the enormous crowd which blocked the Nevsky in front of the door—a crowd composed almost entirely of business men shop keepers *chinovniki* clerks One read

From the Municipal Duma

The Municipal Duma in its meeting of October 26th in view of the events of the day decrees To announce the inviolability of private dwellings Through the House Com

hold on' they cried 'Too much is against us We haven t got the men We will be isolated and the whole thing will fall So Kamenev Riazanov and others

But Lenin with Trotsky beside him stood firm as a rock. Let the compromisers accept our programme and they can come in' We won t give way an inch If there are comrades here who haven t the courage and the will to dare what we dare let them leave with the rest of th cowards and conciliators' Backed by the workers and soldiers we shall go on

At five minutes past seven came word from the left Socialist Revolutionaries to say that they would remain in the Military Revolutionary Committee

See' said Lenin They are following'

A little later as we sat at the press table in the big hall an Anarchist who was writing for the bourgeois papers proposed to me that we go and find out what had become of the presidium There was nobody in the *Tsay-ee-kah* office nor in the bureau of the Petrograd Soviet From room to room we wandered through vast Smolny Nobody seemed to have the slightest idea where to find the governing body of the Congress As we went my companion described his ancient revolutionary activities his long and pleasant exile in France As for the Bolsheviki he confided to me that they were common rude ignorant persons without æsthetic sensibilities He was a real specimen of the Russian *intelligentsia* So he came at last to Room 17 office of the Military Revolutionary Committee and stood there in the midst of all the furious coming and going The door opened and out shot a squat flat faced man in a uniform without insignia who seemed to be smiling—which smile after a minute one saw to be the fixed grin of extreme fatigue It was Krylenko

Cossacks waiting to come out Against them not only the organised bourgeoisie but all the other Socialist parties except the Left Socialist Revolutionaries a few Mensheviki Internationalists and the Social Democrat Internationalists and even they undecided whether to stand by or not With them it is true the workers and the soldier masses—the peasants an unknown quantity—but after all the Bolsheviki were a political faction not rich in trained and educated men

Riazanov was coming up the front steps explaining in a sort of humorous panic that he Commissar of Commerce knew nothing whatever of business In the upstairs cafe sat a man all by himself in the corner in a goat skin cape and clothes which had been—I was going to say slept in but of course he hadn t slept—and a three days growth of beard He was anxiously figuring on a dirty envelope and biting his pencil meanwhile This was Menzhinsky Commissar of Finance whose qualifications were that he had once been clerk in a French bank And these four half running down the hall from the office of the Military Revolutionary Committee and scribbling on bits of paper as they run—these were Commissars despatched to the four corners of Russia to carry th news argue or fight—with whatever arguments or weapons came to hand

The Congress was to meet at one o clock and lon since the great meeting hall had filled but by seven there was yet no sign of the presidium The Bolshevik and Left Social Revolutionary factions were in session in their own rooms All the livelong afternoon Lenin and Trotsky had fought against compromise A considerable part of the Bolsheviki v e e in favour of giving way so far as to create a joint all Socialist government We can t

popular leader—a leader purely by virtue of intellect colourless humourless uncompromising and detached without picturesque idiosyncrasies—but with the power of explaining profound ideas in simple terms of analysing a concrete situation And combined with shrewdness th greatest intellectual audacity

Kamenev was reading the report of the actions of the Military Revolutionary Committee abolition of capital punishment in the Army restoration of the free right of p opa anda release of officers and soldiers arrested for political crimes orders to arrest Kerensky and confisca t on of food supplies in private store houses Tre mendous applause

Again the representative of the *Bund* The uncom promising attitude of the Bolsheviki would mean the crushing of the Revolution therefore the *Bund* delegates must refuse any longer to sit in the Congress Cries from the audience We thought you walked out last ni ht! How many more times are you going to walk out?

Then the representative of the Mensheviki Internation alists Shouts What! You here still? The speaker ex plained that only part of the Mensheviki Internationalists left the Congress the rest were going to stay——

We consider it dangerous and perhaps even mortal for the Revolution to transfer the power to the Soviets —In terruptions— but we feel it our duty to remain in the Congress and vote against the transfer here!

Other speakers followed apparently without any order A d legate of the coal miners of the Don Basin called upon the Congress to take measures a ainst Kaledin who might cut off coal and food from the capital Several soldiers just arrived from the Front brought the en thusiastic greetings of their regiments Now Lenin gripping the edge of the reading stand letting his little

My friend who was a dapper, civilized looking young man gave a cry of pleasure and stepped forward

Nicolai Vasilievitch! he said holding out his hand Don t you remember me comrade? We were in prison together

Krylenko made an effort and concentrated his mind and sight Why yes he answered finally looking the other up and down with an expression of great friendliness You are S—— *Zdrastvuitye!* They kissed What are you doing in all this? He waved his arm around

Oh I m just looking on You seem very successful

Yes replied Krylenko with a sort of doggedness The proletarian Revolution is a great success" He laughed Perhaps—perhaps however we ll meet in prison again!

When we got out into the corridor again my friend went on with his explanations You see I m a follower of Kropotkin To us the Revolution is a great failure it has not aroused the patriotism of the masses Of course that only proves that the people are not ready for Revolution

It was just 8 40 when a thundering wave of cheers announced the entrance of the presidium with Lenin—great Lenin—among them A short, stocky figure with a big head set down in his shoulders bald and bulging Little eyes a snubbish nose wide generous mouth and heavy chin clean shaven now but already beginning to bristle with the well known beard of his past and future Dressed in shabby clothes his trousers much too long for him Unimpressive to be the idol of a mob loved and revered as perhaps few leaders in history have been A strange

which is desired by the immense majority of the workers and the labouring classes exhausted and depleted by the war—that peace which the Russian workers and peasants after having struck down the Tsarist monarchy have not ceased to demand categorically—immediate peace without annexations (that is to say without conquest of foreign territory without forcible annexation of other nationalities) and without indemnities

The Government of Russia proposes to all the belligerent peoples immediately to conclude such a peace by showing themselves willing to enter upon the decisive steps of negotiations aiming at such a peace at once without the slightest delay before the definitive ratification of all the conditions of such a peace by the authorised assemblies of the people of all countries and of all nationalities

By annexation or conquest of foreign territory the Government means—conformably to the conception of democratic rights in general and the rights of the working-class in particular—all union to a great and strong State of a small or weak nationality without the voluntary clear and precise expression of its consent and desire whatever be the moment when such an annexation by force was accomplished whatever be the degree of civilisation of the nation annexed by force or maintained outside the frontiers of another State no matter if that nation be in Europe or in the far countries across the sea.

If any nation is retained by force within the limits of another State if in spite of the desire expressed by it (it matters little if that desire be expressed by the press by popular meetings decisions of political parties or by disorders and riots against national oppression) that nation is not given the right of deciding by free vote—without the slightest constraint after the complete departure of the armed forces of the nation which has annexed it or wishes to annex it or is stronger in general—the form of its national and political organisation such a union constitutes an annexation—that is to say conquest and an act of violence

winking eyes travel over the crowd as he stood there wait ing apparently oblivious to the long rolling ovation which lasted several minutes When it finished he said simply We shall now proceed to construct the Socialist order! Again that overwhelming human roar

The first thing is the adoption of practical measures to realise peace We shall offer peace to the peoples of all the belligerent countries upon the basis of the Soviet terms—no annexations no indemnities and the right of self determination of peoples At the same time according to our promise we shall publish and repudiate the secret treaties The question of War and Peace is so clear that I think that I may without preamble read the project of a Proclamation to the Peoples of All the Belligerent Countries

His great mouth seeming to smile opened wide as he spoke his voice was hoarse—not unpleasantly so but as if it had hardened that way after years and years of speaking—and went on monotonously with the effect of being able to go on forever For emphasis he bent forward slightly No gestures And before him a thou sand simple faces looking up in intent adoration

Proclamation to the Peoples and Governments of All the Belligerent Nations *

The Workers and Peasants Government created by the revolution of November 6th and 7th and based on the Soviets of Workers Soldiers and Peasants Deputies proposes to all the belligerent peoples and to their Governments to begin immediately negotiations for a just and democratic peace

The Government means by a just and democratic peace

* This proct mation was d fted by Lenin s was th decree on peace wh ch followed it —*Ed*

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* This proclamation was drafted by Lenin as was the decree on peace which followed it —*Ed*

Workers and Peasants Government of Russia addresses equally and in particular the conscious workers of the three nations most devoted to humanity and the three most important nations amon those taking part in the present war—England France and Germany The workers of these countries have rendered the greatest services to the cause of progress and of Socialism The splendid examples of the Chartist movement in England the series of revolutions of world wide historical significance accomplished by the French proletariat—and finally in Germany the historic struggle against the Laws of Exception an example for the workers of the whole world of prolonged and stubborn action and the creation of the formidable organisations of German proletarians—all these models of proletarian heroism these monuments of history are for us a sure guarantee that the workers of these countries will understand the duty imposed upon them to liberate humanity from the horrors and consequences of war and that these workers by decisive energetic and continued action will help us to bring to a successful conclusion the cause of peace—and at the same time the cause of the liberation of the exploited workin, masses from all slavery and all exploitation

When the grave thunder of applau e had died away Lenin spoke a,ain

We propose to the Congress to ratify this declaration We address ourselves to the Governments as well as to the peoples for a declaration which would be addressed only to the peoples of the belligerent countries mi,ht delay the conclusion of peace The conditions of peace drawn up durin, the armistice will be ratified by the Constituent Assembly In fixin, the duration of the armistice at three months we desire to give to the peoples as lon, a rest as possible after this bloody extermination and ample time for them to elect their representatives This proposal of peace will meet with resistance on the

To continue this war in order to permit the strong and rich nations to divide among themselves the weak and conquered nationalities is considered by the Government the greatest possible crime against humanity and the Government solemnly proclaims its decision to sign a treaty of peace which will put an end to this war upon the above conditions equally fair for all nationalities without exception

The Government abolishes secret diplomacy expressing before the whole country its firm decision to conduct all the negotiations in the light of day before the people and will proceed immediately to the full publication of all secret treaties confirmed or concluded by the Government of landowners and capitalists from March until November 7th 1917 All the clauses of the secret treaties which as occur in a majority of cases have for their object to procure advantages and privileges for Russian capitalists to maintain or augment the annexations of the Russian imperialists are denounced by the Government immediately and without discussion

In proposing to all Governments and all peoples to engage in public negotiations for peace the Government declares itself ready to carry on these negotiations by telegraph by post or by pourparlers between the representatives of the different countries or at a conference of these representatives To facilitate these pourparlers the Government appoints its authorised representatives in the neutral countries

The Government proposes to all the governments and to the peoples of all the belligerent countries to conclude an immediate armistice at the same time suggesting that the armistice ought to last three months during which time it is perfectly possible not only to hold the necessary pourparlers between the representatives of all the nations and nationalities without exception drawn into the war or forced to take part in it but also to convoke authorised assemblies of representatives of the people of all countries for the purpose of the definite acceptance of the conditions of peace

In addressing this offer of peace to the Governments and to the peoples of all the belligerent countries the Provisional

but would prefer a Socialist coalition Lettish Social Democracy support * Something was kindled in these men One spoke of the coming World Revolution of which we are the advance guard another of the new age of brotherhood when all the peoples will become one great family An individual member claimed the floor There is contradiction here he said First you offer peace without annexations and indemnities and then you say you will consider all peace offers To consider means to accept

Lenin was on his feet We want a just peace but we are not afraid of a revolutionary war Probably the imperialist Governments will not answer our appeal—but we shall not issue an ultimatum to which it will be easy to say no If the German proletariat realises that we are ready to consider all offers of peace that will perhaps be the last drop which overflows the bowl—revolution will break out in Germany

We consent to examine all conditions of peace but that doesn't mean that we shall accept them *For* some of our terms we shall fight to the end—but possibly for others will find it impossible to continue the war Above all we want to finish the war

It was exactly 10 35 when Kamenev asked all in favour of the proclamation to hold up their cards One delegate dared to raise his hand against but the sudden sharp outburst around him brought it swiftly *down* *Unanimous*

Suddenly by common impulse we found ourselves on our feet mumbling together into the smooth lifting unison of the *Internationale* A grizzled old soldier was sobbing like a child Alexandra Kollontai rapidly winked the tears

* These were not official spokesmen of their parties but pro-Bolshevik members In the case of the Letts, however the leading committee was pro-Bolshevik —*Ed*

part of the imperialist governments—we don t fool our selves on that score But we hope that revolution will soon break out in all the belligerent countries that is why we address ourselves especially to the workers of France England and Germany

The revolution of November 6th and 7th" he ended has opened the era of the Social Revolution The labour movement in the name of peace and Socialism shall win and fulfil its destiny

There was something quiet and powerful in all this which stirred the souls of men It was understandabl why people believed when Lenin spoke

By crowd vote it was quickly decided that only repre sentatives of political factions should be allowed to speak on the motion and that speakers should be limited to fifteen minutes

First Karelin for the Left Socialist Revolutionaries Our faction had no opportunity to propose amendments to the text of the proclamation it is a private document of the Bolsheviki But we will vote for it because we agree with its spirit

For the Social Democrats Internationalists Kramarov long stoop shouldered and near sighted—destined to achieve some notoriety as the Clown of the Opposition Only a Government composed of all the Socialist parties he said could possess the authority to take such important action If a Socialist coalition were formed his faction would support the entire programme if not only part of it As for the proclamation the Internationalists were in thorough accord with its main points

Then one after another amid rising enthusiasm Ukrainian Social Democracy support Lithuanian Social Democracy support Populist Socialists support Polish Social Democracy support Polish Socialists support—

For this did they lie there the martyrs of March in their cold Brotherhood Grave on Mars Field for this thousands and tens of thousands had died in the prisons in exile in Siberian mines It had not come as they expected it would come nor as the *intelligentsia* desired it but it had come—rough strong impatient of formulas contemptuous of sentimentalism *real*

Lenin was reading the Decree on Land *

(1) All private ownership of land is abolished immediately without compensation

(2) All land-owners estates and all lands belonging to the Crown to monasteries church lands with all their live stock and inventoried property buildings and all appurtenances are transferred to the disposition of the township Land Committees and the district Soviets of Peasants Deputies until the Constituent Assembly meets

(3) Any damage whatever done to the confiscated property which from now on belongs to the whole People is regarded as a serious crime punishable by the revolutionary tribunals The district Soviets of Peasants Deputies shall take all necessary measures for the observance of the strictest order during the taking over of the land-owners estates for the determination of the dimensions of the plots of land and which of them are subject to confiscation for the drawing up of an inventory of the entire confiscated property and for the strictest revolutionary protection of all the farming property on the land with all buildings implements cattle supplies of products etc passing into the hands of the People

* Draf d by Len n Th wa h dec wh h h kn wledg d l d th l nd p obl m i w y m d ed by th B l heviks d y th progr m, b t l f d ve b im f om th p gr m p epar d by th Soc l R l uonary Party for doptio by the Peasant U ons and Peasant So et —*Ed*

back The immense sound rolled through the hall burst windows and doors and seared into the quiet sky The war is ended' The war is ended' said a young workman near me his face shining And when it was over as we stood there in a kind of awkward hush some one in the back of the room shouted Comrades' Let us remember those who have died for liberty' So we began to sing the Funeral March that slow melancholy and yet triumphant chant so Russian and so moving The *Internationale* is an alien air after all The Funeral March seemed the very soul of those dark masses whose delegates sat in this hall building from their obscure visions a new Russia—and perhaps more

You fell in the fatal fight
For the liberty of the people for the honour of the people
You gave up your lives and everything dear to you
You suffered in horrible prisons
You went to exile in chains

Without a word you carried your chains because you could not ignore your suffering brothers
Because you believed that justice is stronger than the sword
The time will come when your surrendered life will count
That time is near when tyranny falls the people will rise great and free'

Farewell brothers you chose a noble path
You are followed by the new and fresh army ready to die and to suffer

Farewell brothers you chose a noble path
At your grave we swear to fight to work for freedom and the people s happiness

harshly in the faces of the crowd We demand their instant release! They are now in Peter Paul fortress We must have immediate action! There is not a moment to lose!

Another followed him a soldier with disordered beard and flaming eyes You sit h re and talk about giving the land to the peasants and you commit an act of tyrants and usurpers against the peasants chosen representatives! I tell you— he raised his fist if one hair of their heads is harmed you ll have a revolt on your hands! The crowd stirred confusedly

Th n up rose Trotsky calm and venomous conscious of power greeted with a roar Yesterday the Military Revolutionary Committee decided to release the Socialist Revolutionary and Menshevik Ministers Mazlov Salazkin Gvozdov and Maliantovich—on principle That they are still in Peter Paul is only because we have had so much to do They will however be detained at their homes under arrest until we have investigated their complicity in the treacherous acts of Kerensky during the Kornilov affair!

Never shouted Pianikh in any revolution have such things been seen as go on here!"

You are mistaken responded Trotsky Such things have been se n even in this revolution Hundreds of our comrades were arrested in the July days When Comrade Kollontai was released from prison by the doctor s orders Avksentiev placed at her door two former a ents of the Tsar s secret police!" The peasants withdrew muttering followed by ironical hoots

The representativ of the Left Socialist Revolutionari s spok on the Land Decree While agreeing in principl his faction could not vote on th question until after d s cussion The Peasants Soviets should be consulted

(4) For guidance during the realisation of the great land reforms until their final resolution by the Constituent Assembly shall serve the following peasant *nakaz*[3] (instructions) drawn up on the basis of 242 local peasant *naka* i by the editorial board of the *Izvestia* of the All Russian Soviet *of Peasants Deputies and published in No 88 of said Izvestia'* (Petrograd No 88 August 19th 1917)

The lands of peasants and of Cossacks serving in the Army shall not be confiscated

This is not explained Lenin the project of former Minister Chernov who spoke of erecting a frame work and tried to realise reforms from above From below on the spot will be decided the questions of division of the land The amount of land received by each peasant will vary according to the locality

Under the Provisional Government the pomieshchiki flatly refused to obey the orders of the Land Committees —those Land Committees projected by Lvov brought into existence by Shingariov and administered by Kerensky' [4]

Before the debates could begin a man forced his way violently through the crowd in the aisle and climbed upon the platform It was Pianikh member of the Executive Committee of the Peasants Soviets and he was mad clean *through*

The Executive Committee of the All Russian Soviets of Peasants Deputies protests against the arrest of our comrades the Ministers Salazkin and Mazlov! * he flung

Sergei S rge ich Sal zkin ctl e in the zem t o m ement Minl ter of Ed c t on f om Septembe to No ember 1917 Semy n Leonto ich Ma lov right SR, fact nal oppo ent of Cherno who c ded him as M ni ter of Agr cult e and r placed h d ft law o the red stributio f th l nd by a somewh t more c servat e nd l m ted one *apply ng only to l nds r nt d* by the peasants and not t th e tir l nd of th ou try Both d ft pro ded for instruct ons to the local l nd comm ttee nd the gr nting of co respond ng powers to those comm ttees —*Ed*

platform and the session recommenced by the reading of telegrams from regiment after regiment announcing their adhesion to the Military Revolutionary Committee

In leisurely manner the meeting gathered momentum A delegate from the Russian troops on the Macedonian front spoke bitterly of their situation We suffer there more from the friendship of our Allies than from the enemy" he said Representatives of the Tenth and Twelfth Armies just arrived in hot haste reported We support you with all our strength! A peasant soldier protested against the release of the traitor Socialists Maz lov and Salazkin as for the Executive Committee of the Peasants Soviets it should be arrested *en masse!* Here was real revolutionary talk A deputy from the Russian Army in Persia declared he was instructed to demand all power to the Soviets A Ukrainian officer speaking in his native tongue There is no nationalism in this crisis *Da zdravstvuyet* the proletarian dictatorship of all lands! Such a deluge of high and hot thoughts that surely Russia would never again be dumb!

Kamenev remarked that the anti Bolshevik forces were trying to stir up disorders everywhere and read an appeal of the Congress to all the Soviets of Russia

The All Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers and Soldiers Deputies including some Peasants Deputies calls upon the local Soviets to take immediate energetic measures to oppose all counter revolutionary anti Jewish action and all *pog oms* whatever they may be The honour of the *Workers* Peasants and Soldiers Revolution demands that no *pogrom* be tolerated

The Red Guard of Petrograd the revolutionary garrison and the sailors have maintained complete order in the capital

Workers soldiers and peasants you should follow every where the example of the workers and soldiers of Petrograd.

The Mensheviki Internationalists too insisted on a party caucus

Then the leader of the Maximalists the Anarchist wing of the peasants We must do honour to a political party which puts such an act into effect the first day, without jawing about it!

A *typical peasant* was in the tribune long hair boots and sheep skin coat bowing to all corners of the hall I wish you well comrades and citizens he said There are some Cadets walking around outside You arrested our Socialist peasants—why not arrest them?

This was the signal for a debate of excited peasants It was precisely like the debate of soldiers of the night before Here were the real proletarians of the land

Those members of our Executive Committee Avksentiev and the rest whom we thought were the peasants protectors—they are only Cadets too! Arrest them! Arrest them!

Another Who are these Pianikhs these Avksentievs? They are not peasants at all! They only wag their tails!

How the crowd rose to them recognising brothers!

The Left Socialist Revolutionaries proposed a half hour intermission As the delegates streamed out Lenin stood *up in his place*

We must not lose time comrades! News all important to Russia must be on the press to morrow morning No delay!

And above the hot discussion argument shuffling of feet could be heard the voice of an emissary of the Military Revolutionary Committee crying Fifteen agitators wanted in room 17 at once! To go to the Front!

It was almost two hours and a half later that the delegates came straggling back the presidium mounted the

ment of Kerensky is not a screen behind which can be hidden dirty work like desertion! Deserters are scoundrels who run away home and leave their comrades to die in the trenches alone! Every deserter is a traitor and should be punished Uproar shouts of *Dovolno! Teesche!* Kamenev hastily proposed to leave the matter to the Government for decision [5]

At 2 30 A M fell a tense hush Kamenev was readin, the decree of the Constitution of Power *

Until the meeting of the Constituent Assembly a provisional Workers and Pea nts Government is formed whi h shall be named the Council of People s Commissars [6]

The administration of the different branches of state activity shall be intrusted to commissions whose composition shall be re ulated to ensure the carrying out of the pro,r *mm of the* Congress in close union with the mass-organisations of working men working women sailors soldiers peasants and clerical employees The governmental power is vested in a *co legi um* made up of the chairmen of these commissions that is to say the Counc l of People s Commissars

Control over the activities of the People s Commissars and the r ht to replace them shall belon, to the All Russian Con r s of Soviets of Workers Peasants and Soldiers Deputies and its Central Executive Committee

Still silence as he read the list of Commissars bursts of applause after each name Lenin s and Trotsky s especially *

Pres dent of the Council Vladimir Ulianov (*Lenin*)
I terio A I Rykov

Draft d by Le —*Ed*

F som re son R ed 3 st w u lly in cu at He ga wr g ini ials to Rykov D benk St p Sk rts An -Ovsee k Oppokov Lomo and T odor h, a.l f hich h bee or ted h —*Ed*

Comrade soldiers and Cossacks on us falls the duty of assuring real revolutionary order

All revolutionary Russia and the entire world have their eyes on us

At two o clock the Land Decree was put to vote with only one against and the peasant delegates wild with joy So plunged the Bolsheviki ahead irresistible over riding hesitation and opposition—the only people in Russia who had a definite programme of action while the others talked for eight long months

Now arose a soldier gaunt ragged and eloquent to protest against the clause of the *nakaz* tending to deprive military deserters from a share in village land allotments Bawled at and hissed at first his simple moving speech finally made silence Forced against his will into the butchery of the trenches he cried which you your selves in the Peace decree have voted senseless as well as horrible he greeted the Revolution with hope of peace and freedom Peace? The Government of Kerensky forced him again to go forward into Galicia to slaughter and be slaughtered to his pleas for peace Tereshchenko simply laughed Freedom? Under Kerensky he found his Committees suppressed his newspapers cut off his party speakers put in prison At home in his village the landlords were defying his Land Committees jailing his comrades In Petrograd the bourgeoisie in alliance with the Germans were sabotaging the food and ammunition for the Army He was without boots or clothes Who forced him to desert? The Government of Kerensky which you have overthrown! At the end there was applause

But another soldier hotly denounced it The Govern

he democracy but only by the incapacity of the Government to give the people peace and bread And the left wing cannot maintain itself in power unless it can solve these questions

Can it give bread to the people? Grain is scarce The majority of the peasants will not be with you for you cannot give them the machinery they need Fuel and other primary necessities are almost impossible to procure

As for peace that will be even more difficult The Allies refused to talk with Skobelev They will never accept the proposition of a peace conference from *you* You will not be recognised either in London and Paris or in Berlin

You cannot count on the effective help of the proletariat of the Allied countries because in most countries it is very far from the revolutionary struggle remember the Allied democracy was unable even to convoke the Stockholm Conference Concerning the German Social Democrats I have just talked with Comrade Goldenberg one of our delegates to Stockholm he was told by the representatives of the Extreme Left that *revolution in* Germany was impossible during the war Here interruptions began to come thick and fast but Avilov kept on

The isolation of Russia will fatally result either in the defeat of the Russian Army by the Germans and the patching up of a peace between the Austro-German coalition and the Franco-British coalition *at the expense of Russia*—or in a separate peace with Germany

I have just learned that the Allied ambassadors are preparing to leave and that Committees for Salvation

Agriculture V P Milyutin
Labour A G Shliapnikov
Military and Naval Affairs—a committee composed of V A Ovseenko (*Antonov*) N V Krylenko and P E Dybenko
Commerce and Industry V P Nogin
Popular Education A V Lunacharsky
Finance I I Skvortsov (*Stepanov*)
Foreign Affairs L D Bronstein (*Trotsky*)
Justice G I Oppokov (*Lomov*)
Supplies I A Teodorovich
Post and Telegraph N P Avilov (*Glebov*)
Chairman for Nationalities I V Djugashvili (*Stalin*)
Railroads To be filled later

There were bayonets at the edges of the room bayonets pricking up among the delegates the Military Revolutionary Committee was arming everybody Bolshevism was arming for the decisive battle with Kerensky the sound of whose trumpets came up the south west wind

In the meanwhile nobody went home on the contrary hundreds of newcomers filtered in filling the great room solid with stern faced soldiers and workmen who stood for hours and hours indefatigably intent The air was thick with cigarette smoke and human breathing and the smell of coarse clothes and sweat

Avilov of the staff of *Novaya Zhizn* was speaking in the name of the Social Democrat Internationalists and the remnant of the Mensheviki Internationalists Avilov with his young intelligent face looking out of place in his smart frock coat

We must ask ourselves where we are going The ease with which the Coalition Government was upset cannot be explained by the strength of the left wing of

impossible for us to serve as intermediaries between the Bolsheviki and the other groups of the democracy And that is our principal duty at this moment. We cannot sustain any government except a government of Socialist coalition

We protest moreover against the tyrannical conduct of the Bolsheviki Our Commissars have been driven from their posts Our only organ *Znamia Truda* (Banner of Labour) was forbidden to appear yesterday

The Central Duma is forming a powerful Committee for Salvation of Country and Revolution to fight you Already you are isolated and your *Government* is without the support of a single other democratic group

And now Trotsky stood upon the raised tribune confident and dominating with that sarcastic expression about his mouth which was almost a sneer He spoke in a ringing voice and the great crowd rose to him

These considerations on the dangers of isolation of our party are not new On the eve of *insurrection* our fatal defeat was also predicted Everybody was against us only a faction of the Socialist Revolutionaries of the left was with us in the Military Revolutionary Committee How is it that we were able to overturn the Government almost without bloodshed? That fact is the most striking proof that we *were not isolated* In reality the Provisional Government was isolated the democratic parties which march against us were isolated are isolated and forever cut off from the proletariat!

They speak of the necessity for a coalition There is only one coalition possible—the coalition of the workers soldiers and poorest peasants and it is our party s honour to have realised that coalition What sort of coalition did Avilov mean? A coalition with those who supported the Government of Treason to the People? Coali

of Country and Revolution are forming in all the cities of Russia

No one party can conquer these enormous difficulties The majority of the people supporting a government of Socialist coalition can alone accomplish the Revolution

He then read the resolution of the two factions

Recognising that for the salvation of the conquests of the Revolution it is indispensable immediately to constitute a government based on the revolutionary democracy organised in the Soviets of Workers Soldiers and Peasants Deputies recognising moreover that the task of this government is the quickest possible attainment of peace the transfer of the land into the hands of the agrarian committees the organisation of control over industrial production and the convocation of the Constituent Assembly on the date decided the Congress appoints an executive committee to constitute such a government after an agreement with the groups of the democracy which are taking part in the Congress

In spite of the revolutionary exaltation of the triumphant crowd Avilov s cool tolerant reasoning had shaken them Toward the end the cries and hisses died away and when he finished there was even some clapping

Karelin followed him—also young fearless whose sincerity no one doubted—for the Left Socialist Revolutionaries the party of Maria Spiridonova the party which almost alone followed the Bolsheviki and which represented the revolutionary peasants

Our party has refused to enter the Council of People s Commissars because we do not wish forever to separate ourselves from the part of the revolutionary army which left the Congress a separation which would make it

Kamenev recognised a delegate from the Union of Railway Workers a hardfaced stocky man with an attitude of implacable hostility He threw a bombshell

In the name of the strongest organisation in Russia I demand the right to speak and I say to you the *Vikzhel* charges me to make known the decision of the Union concerning the constitution of Power The Central Committee refuses absolutely to support the Bolsheviki if they persist in isolating themselves from the whole democracy of Russia! Immense tumult all over the hall

In 1905 and in the Kornilov days the Railway Workers were the best defenders of the Revolution But you did not invite us to your Congress— Cries It was the old *Tsay ee kah* which did not invite you! The orator paid no attention We do not recognise the legality of this Congress since the departure of the Mensheviki and Socialist Revolutionaries there is not a legal quorum The Union supports the old *Tsay-ee kah* and declares that the Congress has no right to elect a new Committee

The Power should be a Socialist and revolutionary Power responsible before the authorised organs of the entire revolutionary democracy Until the constitution of such a power the Union of Railway Workers which refuses to transport counter revolutionary troops to Petrograd at the same time forbids the execution of any order whatever without the consent of the *Vikzhel* The *Vikzhel* also take into its hands the entire administration of the railroads of Russia

At the end he could hardly be heard for the furious storm of abuse which beat upon him But it was a heavy blow—that could be seen in the concern on the faces of the presidium Kamenev however merely answered that there could be no doubt of the legality of the Congress as even the quorum established by the old *Tsay-ee kah* was

tion doesn t always add to strength For example could we have organised the insurrection with Dan and Avksentiev in our ranks? Roars of laughter

Avksentiev gave little bread Will a coalition with the *oborontsi* furnish more? Between the peasants and Avksentiev who ordered the arrest of the Land Committees we choose the peasants! Our Revolution will remain the classic revolution of history

They accuse us of repelling an agreement with the other democratic parties But is it we who are to blame? Or must we as Karelin put it blame it on a misunderstanding? No comrades When a party in full tide of revolution still wreathed in powder smoke comes to say Here is the Power—take it! —and when those to whom it is offered go over to the enemy that is not a misunderstanding that is a declaration of pitiless war And it isn t we who have declared war

Avilov menaces us with failure of our peace efforts—if we remain isolated I repeat I don t see how a coalition with Skobelev or even Tereshchenko can help us to get peace! Avilov tries to frighten us by the threat of a peace at our expense And I answer that in any case if Europe continues to be ruled by the imperialist bourgeoisie revolutionary Russia will inevitably be lost

There are only two alternatives either the Russian Revolution will create a revolutionary movement in Europe or the European powers will destroy the Russian Revolution!

They greeted him with an immense crusading acclaim kindling to the daring of it with the thought of championing mankind And from that moment there was something conscious and decided about the insurrectionary masses in all their actions which never left them

But on the other side too battle was taking form

What s the reason for this guard-duty?

To protect the house and the women and children

Who from?"

Robbers and murderers

But suppose there came a Commissar from the Military Revolutionary Committee to search for arms?"

"Oh that s what they ll *say* they are And b sides what s the difference?

I solemnly affirmed that the Consul had forbidden all American citizens to carry arms—especially in the neighbourhood of the Russian *intelligentsia*

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1 Appeals and Proclamations

F m tl M l ars R v l ionary Committee November 8

"To All A my Committe s and All Soviets of Sold ers D puties

"The Petrograd garrison has o erturned the Governm nt of Keren ky which had risen aga nst the Revolution and the People

In ending this news to the Front and th country the Military Re olutiona y Committ e requests all sol iers to keep vigilant watch on the conduct of offi ers Officers who do not frankly and openly d clare for the Revolution should be immediately arrested as nemies

Th Petrograd Sov et interprets the programme of the new Gove nment a immediate proposals of a general d mocratic pea e th mmed ate transfer of great landed estates to the p as ant nd the honest nvocation of the Constituent Assembly The people s e olutionary Army must not permit troops of doubt ful morale t be nt to Petrograd Act by means of arguments by mea of moral sua on—but if that fails halt the movement of troops by imp acable force

The present order mus be immed ately read to all military units of every branch of the serv e Whoever keeps the knowledge of this order from the sold er masses commits a serio is crime

exceeded—in spite of the secession of the Mensheviki and Socialist Revolutionaries

Then came the vote on the Constitution of Power which carried the Council of People s Commissars into office by an enormous majority

The election of the new *Tsay ee kah* the new parliament of the Russian Republic took barely fifteen minutes Trotsky announced its composition 100 members of which 70 Bolsheviki As for the peasants and the secedin factions places were to be reserved for them We welcome into the Government all parties and groups which will adopt our programme ended Trotsky

And thereupon the Second All Russian Congress of Soviets was dissolved, so that the members might hurry to their homes in the four corners of Russia and tell of the great happenings

It was almost seven when we woke the sleeping conductors and motor men of the street-cars which the Street Railway Workers Union always kept waiting at Smolny to take the Soviet delegates to their homes In the crowded car there was less happy hilarity than the night before I thought Many looked anxious perhaps they were saying to themselves Now we are masters how can we do our will?

At our apartment house we were held up in the dark by an armed patrol of citizens and carefully examined The Duma s proclamation was doing its work

The landlady heard us come in and stumbled out in a pink silk wrapper

The House Committee has again asked that you take your turn on guard duty with the rest of the men she said

elections to the Constituent Assembly and in spite of the menace of the external enemy having removed by arm d force the only legal revolutionary authority is making an attempt against the rights and independence of the Mun cipal Self Government de manding submission to its Commissars and its ille al authority

In this terrible and tragic moment the Petrograd City Duma in the face of its constituents and of all Russia, declares loudly that it will not submit to any encroachments on its rights and its independence and will rema n at the post of responsibility to which it has been called by the will of the population of the capital

"The Central City Duma of Petrograd appeals to all Dumas and Zemstvos of the Russian Republic to rally to the defence of one of the greatest conquests of the Russian Revolution—the in dependence and inviolabil ty of popular self government

3 Land Decree—P asa Nakaz

The Land question can only be permanently settled by the general Constit e t Assembly

The most equitable solution of the Land question should be as f llows

1 The right of private ownership of land is abolished forever land cannot be sold nor leased nor mortga ed nor alienated in ny w y All dominical lands lands attached to t tles lands be longi g to the Emperor s cabinet to monaster es churches posses sion lands entailed lands private estates communal lands pea ant free holds and others are confiscated without compensation and become nation l prop rty and are placed at the dispos t on of the work who cultiv te them

Those who are dam ged because of this soc l transformation of the r ghts of property are entitled to public aid during the time necess ry for them to adapt themselves to the new condit ons of existence

2 All the riches be e th the earth—ores oil coal alt etc—as well s fore ts and waters hav ng a national importance be come the exclusi e property of the State All m nor streams lakes and forests are pl ced n the h nds of the commun t es on cond tion of being mana ed by the local organs of government

3 All plots of land scie tifically cultivated—garde planta tions urser es seed pl ts gre n houses a d others—shall not be

against the Revolution and will be punished with all the rigour of revolutionary law

Soldiers! For peace bread land and popular government!"

* * * *

To All Front and Rear Army Corps Divisional Regimental and Company Committees and All Soviets of Workers Soldiers and Peasants Deputies

Soldiers and Revolutionary Officers

The Military Revolutionary Committee by agreement with the majority of the workers soldiers and peasants has decreed that General Kornilov and all the accomplices of his conspiracy shall be brought immediately to Petrograd for incarceration in Peter Paul Fortress and arraignment before a military revolutionary court martial

All who resist the execution of this decree are declared by the Committee to be traitors to the Revolution and their orders are herewith declared null and void

The Military Revolutionary Committee Attached to the Petrograd Soviet of Workers and Soldiers Deputies

* * * *

To all Provincial and District Soviets of Workers Soldiers and Peasants Deputies

By resolution of the All Russian Congress of Soviets all arrested members of Land Committees are immediately set free The Commissars who arrested them are to be arrested

From this moment all power belongs to the Soviets The Commissars of the Provisional Government are removed The presidents of the various local Soviets are invited to enter into direct relations with the revolutionary Government

Military Revolutionary Committee

2 Protest of the Municipal Duma

"The Central City Duma elected on the most democratic principles has undertaken the burden of managing Municipal affairs and food supplies at the time of the greatest disorganisation At the present moment the Bolshevik party three weeks before th

elections to the Constituent Assembly and in spite of the menace of the external enemy having removed by armed force the only legal revolutionary authority is making an attempt against the rights and independence of the Municipal Self Government de manding subm ssion to its Commissars and its illegal authority

In this terrible and tragic moment the Petrograd City Duma in the face of its constituents and of all Russia declares loudly that it will not submit to any encroachments on its rights and its independence and will remain at the post of responsibility to which it has been call d by the will of the population of the capital

"The Central C ty Duma of Petrograd appeals to all Dumas and Zemstvos of the Russ an Republ c to rally to the defence of one of the greatest conquests of the Russian Revolution—the in d pendence and inviolability of popular self government

3 Land Decree—Peasan s Nakaz

The Land question can only be permanently settled by the general Constituent Assembly

The most equitable solut on of the Land question should be as follows

1 The right of pr vate ownership of land is abolished forever land cannot b sold nor leased nor mortga ed nor alienated in any w y All dominical lands lands attached to titles lands be lo g to the Emperor s cabinet to monasteries churches posses sion lands entailed lands private est tes communal lands pea ant *fre holds* and others are confiscated without compensation and be ome national property and are placed at the d sposit on of the workers *wh o cul v te* them

Tho e who are dam ged because of this social transformation of the ghts of property are ent tled to public a d during the time nece sary for them to adapt themselves to the new conditions of ex st nce

2 All the r ches beneath the earth—ores oil coal salt etc—as w ll as forests and waters h ving a nation l importance be come the excl si e p operty of the State All m nor stream lakes and fo ests are placed in the hands of the commun t es on condi tion of being mana ed by the local organs of government

3 All plots of land sc entifically cult vated—gard ns pl ta tions nurseries seed plots green houses and others—shall not be

divided but transformed into model farms and pass into the hands of the State or of the community according to their size and importance

Buildings communal lands and villages with their private gardens and their orchards remain in the hands of their present owners the dimensions of these plots and the rate of taxes for their use shall be fixed by law

4 All studs governmental and private cattle breeding and bird breeding establishments and others are confiscated and become national property and are transferred either to the State or to the community according to their size and importance

All questions of compensation for the above are within the competence of the Constituent Assembly

5 All inventoried agricultural property of the confiscated lands, machinery and live stock are transferred without compensation to the State or the community according to their quantity and importance

The confiscation of such machinery or live stock shall not apply to the small properties of peasants

6 The right to use the land is granted to all citizens without distinction of sex who wish to work the land themselves with the help of their families or in partnership and only so long as they are able to work No hired labour is permitted

In the event of the incapacity for work of a member of the commune for a period of two years the commune shall be bound to render him assistance during this time by working his land in common

Farmers who through old age or sickness have permanently lost the capacity to work the land themselves shall surrender their land and receive instead a Government pension

7 The use of the land should be equalised—that is to say the land shall be divided among the workers according to local conditions the unit of labour and the needs of the individual

The way in which land is to be used may be individually determined upon as homesteads as farms by communes by partnerships as will be decided by the villages and settlements

8 All land upon its confiscation is pooled in the general Peoples Land Fund Its distribution among the workers is carried out by the local and central organs of administration beginning with the villag democratic organisations and ending with the

central provincial institutions—with the exception of urban and rural cooperative societies.

The Land Fund is subject to periodical redistribution according to the increase of population and the d velopment of productivity and rural economy

In case of mod fication of the boundaries of allotments the original centre of the allotment remains intact

The lands of persons retiring from the community return to the Land Fund providing that near relatives of the persons retiring or friends des gnated by them shall have preference in the re di r bu ion of these lands

When lands are returned to the Land Fund the money expended for manuring or improving the land which has not been ex hausted, shall be reimbursed

If in some localities the Land Fund is insufficient to satisfy the local population the surplus population should emigrate

The organisation of the emigration also the costs thereof and the providing of emigrants with the necessary machinery and live stock shall be the business of the State

The emigration shall be carried out in the following order first the peasants without land who express their wish to emigrate the the undesirable members of the community deserters etc and finally by draw ng lots on agreement.

All wh ch is contained in this *n kaz* being the expression of the ind sputable w ll of the great majority of consc ous peasants of R ssia is declared to be a temporary law and until the convocation of the Con tituent Assembly becomes effective immediately so far as is poss ble and in some parts of it gradually as will be determin d by the Distr ct Soviets of Pea ants Deputies

4

There s no such remark ag nst Chernov in Len n s speech as published next day in *P d* and *I v st a* or as reproduced in his *Wo ks* Vol XXVI pp 225 29 Reed is correct, however in saying that Chernov wanted a uniform planned distribution of the land rather than chaotic dec s on by whoever happened to be on the pot in e ch illage He feared too that the soldiers would all ru h home if they knew that only those on th spot would get land accord ng to the noise they could make or the following

they could gather Chernov wanted uniform decisions to be given to the local land committees to guide them Lenin actually said a kind word for Chernov when he was forced out as Minister of Agriculture In the speech here summarized by Reed as it was reported in *Pravda* are these interesting passages

Voices are raised here to declare that the decree itself and the *naka* were drawn up by the Socialist Revolutionaries Let us admit that it is so Isn t it all the same who has drawn it up? But as a democratic government we cannot evade the decisions of the popular depths even if we are not in agreement with them And even if the peasantry should continue to follow the Socialist Revolutionaries in the future and even if they give that party a majority in the Constituent Assembly then there too we will say So be it (Vol XXVI p 228) The peasants did give the Socialist Revolutionary Party an overwhelming majority in the country as a whole (Reed reports only the vote in Petrograd where the SR s were not so strong) and Chernov was overwhelmingly elected the Chairman of the Constituent Assembly Lenin s answer then was to dissolve the Constituent Assembly by force of arms after its very first session —*Ed*

5 The Land and Deserters

The Government was not forced to make any decision concerning the rights of deserters to the land The end of the war and the demobilisation of the army automatically removed the deserter problem

6 The Council of People s Commissars

The Council of People s Commissars was at first composed entirely of Bolsheviki This was not entirely the fault of the Bolsheviki however On November 8th they offered portfolios to members of the Left Socialist Revolutionaries who declined

CHAPTER VI

THE COMMITTEE FOR SALVATION

Friday November 9th

Novocherkask November 8th

In view of the revolt of the Bolsheviki and their attempt to depose the Provisional Government and to seize the power in Petrograd the Cossack Government declares that it considers these acts criminal and absolutely inadmissible In consequence the Cossacks will lend all their support to the Provisional Government, which is a government of coalition Because of these circumstances and until the return of the Provisional Government to power and the restoration of order in Russia I take upon myself beginning November 7th all the power in that which concerns the region of the Don

Signed ATAMAN KALEDIN
President of the Government of the Cossack Troops

Prika of the Minister President Kerensky dated at Gatchina

I Minister President of the Provisional Government and Supreme Commander of all the armed forces of the Russian

Republic declare that I am at the head of regiments from the Front who have remained faithful to the fatherland

I order all the troops of the Military District of Petro rad who through mistake or folly have answered the appeal of the traitors to the country and the Revolution to return to their duty without delay

This order shall be read in all regiments, battalions and squadrons

Signed *Minister President of the Provisional Government and Supreme Commander*
A F KERENSKY

Telegram from Kerensky to the General in Command of the Northern Front

The town of Gatchina has been taken by the loyal regiments without bloodshed Detachments of Cronstadt sailors and of the Semionovsky and Ismailovsky regiments gave up their arms without resistance and joined the Government troops

I order all the designated units to advance as quickly as possible The Military Revolutionary Committee has ordered its troops to retreat

Gatchina about thirty kilometers south west had fallen during the night Detachments of the two regiments mentioned—not the sailors—while wandering captainless in the neighbourhood had indeed been surrounded by Cossacks and given up their arms but it was not true that they had joined the Government troops At this very moment crowds of them bewildered and ashamed were up at Smolny trying to explain They did not think the Cossacks were so near They had tried to argue with the Cossacks

Apparently the greatest confusion prevailed along the revolutionary front The garrisons of all the little towns

southward had split hopelessly b tterly into two factions—or three the hi_gh command beinᵍ on the side of Kerensky in default of anything stronger the majority of the rank and file with the Soviets and the rest unhappily waverin_g

Hastily the Military Revolutionary Committee appointed to command the defence of Petro_grad an ambitious regular Army captain Muraviov the same Muraviov who had organised the Death Battalions during the summer and had once been heard to advise the Government that it was too lenient with the Bolsheviki they must b wiped out A man of military mind who admired power and audacity perhaps sincerely

Beside my door when I came down in the mornin_g were posted two new orders of the Military Revolutionary Com mittee directing that all shops and stores should open as u ual and that all empty rooms and apartments should b put at the disposal of the Committee

For thirty six hours now the Bolsheviki had been cut off from provincial Russia and the outside world The railway men and tele_graphers refused to transmit their despatches the postmen would not handle their mail Only the Government wireless at Tsarskoye Selo launched half hourly bulletins and manifestoes to the four corners of heaven the Commissars of Smolny raced the Com missars of the City Duma on speeding trains half across the earth and two aeroplanes laden with propaganda, fled high up toward the Front

But the eddies of insurrection were spreading through Russia with a swiftness surpassing any human agency Hel singfors Soviet passed resolutions of support Kiev Bol sheviki captured the arsenal and the telegraph station only to be driven out by delegates to the Congress of Cossacks which happened to be meeting there in Kazan a Military Revolutionary Committee arrested the local garri

son staff and the Commissar of the Provisional Government from far Krasnoyarsk in Siberia came news that the Soviets were in control of the Municipal institutions at Moscow where the situation was aggravated by a great strike of leather workers on one side and a threat of general lock out on the other the Soviets had voted overwhelmingly to support the action of the Bolsheviki in Petrograd Already a Military Revolutionary Committee was functioning

Everywhere the same thing happened The common soldiers and the industrial workers supported the Soviets by a vast majority the officers *yunkers* and middle class generally were on the side of the Government—as were the bourgeois Cadets and the moderate Socialist parties In all these towns sprang up Committees for Salvation of Country and Revolution arming for civil war

Vast Russia was in a state of solution As long ago as 1905 the process had begun the March Revolution had merely hastened it and giving birth to a sort of forecast of the new order had ended by merely perpetuating the hollow structure of the old regime Now however the Bolsheviki in one night had dissipated it as one blows away smoke Old Russia was no more human society flowed molten in primal heat and from the tossing sea of flame was emerging the class struggle stark and pitiless —and the fragile slowly-cooling crust of new planets

In Petrograd sixteen Ministries were on strike led by the Ministries of Labour and of Supplies—the only two created by the all Socialist Government of August

If ever men stood alone the handful of Bolsheviki apparently stood alone that grey chill morning with all storms towering over them [1] Back against the wall the Military Revolutionary Committee struck—for its life *De l audace encore de l audace et toujours de l audace*

At five in the morning the Red Guards entered the print in office of the City Government confiscated thousands of copies of the Appeal Protest of the Duma and suppressed the official Municipal or,an—the *I iestnik Gorod skoio Samoupravlenya* (Bulletin of the Municipal Self Government) All the bourgeois newspapers were torn from the presses even the *Golos Soldata* journal of the old *Tsax ce kah*—which however changin, its name to *Soldatski Golos* appeared in an edition of a hundred thou sand copies bellowin, rage and defiance

The men who began their stroke of treachery in the ni ht who have suppressed the nes papers will not keep the country in ignorance long The country will know the truth! It will appreciate you Messrs the Bolsheviki! We shall see!

As we came down the Nevsky a little after midday the whole street before the Duma buildin was crowded with people H re and there stood Red Guards and sailors with bayonetted rifles each one surrounded by about a hundred men and women—clerks students shopkeepers *chinovniki*—shaking their fists and bawlin, insults and menaces On the steps stood boy scouts and officers dis tributing copies of th *Soldatski Golos* A workman with a red band around his arm and a revolver in his hand stood trembling with rage and nervousness in the middle of a ho tile thron, at the foot of the stairs demanding the surrender of the papers Nothin, like this I imagine ever occurred in history On one side a handful of work men and common soldiers with arms in their hands repre sentin, a victorious insurrection—and perfectly miserable on th other a frantic mob m de up of the kind of people that crown the sidewalks of Fifth Avenue at noon time

sneering abusing shouting Traitors! Provocators! *Oprichniki!**

The doors were guarded by students and officers with white arm bands lettered in red Militia of the Committee of Public Safety and half a dozen boy scouts came and went Upstairs the place was all commotion Captain Gomberg was coming down the stairs They re goin to dissolve the Duma he said The Bolshevik Commissar is with the Mayor now As we reached the top Riazanov came hurrying out He had been to demand that the Duma recognise the Council of Peoples Commissars and the Mayor had given him a flat refusal

In the offices a great babbling crowd hurrying shouting gesticulating—Government officials intellectuals journalists foreign correspondents French and British officers The City Engineer pointed to them triumphantly The Embassies recognise the Duma as the only power now he explained For these Bolshevik murderers and robbers it is only a question of hours All Russia is rallying to us

In the Alexander Hall a monster meeting of the Committee for Salvation Fillipovsky in the chair and Skobelev again in the tribune reporting to immense applause new adhesions to the Committee Executive Committee of Peasants Soviets old *Tsay ee kah* Central Army Committee *Tsentroflot* Menshevik Socialist Revolutionary and Front group delegates from the Congress of Soviets Central Committees of the Menshevik Socialist Revolutionary Populist Socialist parties Yedinstvo group Peasants Union Cooperatives Zemstvos Municipalities Post and Telegraph Unions *Vikzhel* Council of the Russian Republic Union of Unions ** Merchants and Manufacturers Association

* Savage body guards of Ivan the Terrible 17th century
** See Notes and Explanations

The power of the Soviets is not a democratic power but a dictatorship—and not the dictatorship of the proletariat but *against* the proletariat All those who have felt or know how to feel revolutionary enthusiasm must join now for the defence of the Revolution

"The problem of the day is not only to render harmless irresponsible demagogues but to fight against the counter revolution If rumours are true that certain generals in the provinces are attempting to profit by events in order to march on Petrograd with other designs it is only one more proof that we must establish a solid base of democratic government Otherwise troubles with the Right will follow troubles from the Left

The garrison of Petrograd cannot remain indifferent when citizens buying the *Golos Soldata* and newsboys selling the *Rabochaya Gazeta* are arrested in the streets

The hour of resolutions has passed Let those who have no longer faith in the Revolution retire To establish a united power we must again restore the prestige of the Revolution

Let us swear that either the Revolution shall be saved —or we shall perish!

The hall rose cheering with kindling eyes There was not a single proletarian anywhere in sight

Then Weinstein

We must remain calm and not act until public opinion is firmly grouped in support of the Committee for Salvation—then we can pass from the defensive to action!

The *Vikzhel* representative announced that his organisation was taking the initiative in forming the new Government and its delegates were now discussing the matter with Smolny Followed a hot discussion were the Bolsheviki to be admitted to the new Government? Martov

pleaded for their admission after all he said they represented an important political party Opinions were very much divided upon this the right wing Mensheviki and Socialist Revolutionaries as well as the Populist Socialists, the Cooperatives and the bourgeois elements being bitterly against

They have betrayed Russia one speaker said *They* have started civil war and opened the front to the Germans The Bolsheviki must be mercilessly crushed

Skobelev was in favor of excluding both the Bolsheviki and the Cadets

We got into conversation with a young Socialist Revolutionary who had walked out of the Democratic Conference together with the Bolsheviki that night when *Tseretelli and the* compromisers *forced Coalition upon the* democracy of Russia

You here? I asked him

His eyes flashed fire Yes! he cried I left the Congress with my party Wednesday night I have not risked my life for twenty years and more to submit now to th tyranny of the Dark People Their methods are intolerable But they have not counted on the peasants When the peasants begin to act then it is a question of minutes before they are done for

But the peasants—will they act? Doesn t the Land decree settle the peasants? What more do they want?

Ah the Land decree! he said furiously Yes do you know what that Land decree is? It is *our* decree—it is the Socialist Revolutionary programme intact! My party framed that policy after the most careful compilation of the wishes of the peasants themselves It is an outrage

But if it is your own policy why do you object? If it is the peasants wishes why will they oppose it?

You don t understand! Don t you see that the peasants will immediately realise that it is all a trick—that these usurpers have stolen the Socialist Revolutionary programme?

I asked if it were true that Kaledin was marching north

He nodded and rubbed his hands with a sort of bitter satisfaction Yes Now you see what these Bolsheviki have done They have raised the counter revolution against us The Revolution is lost The Revolution is lost

But won t you defend the Revolution?

Of course we will defend it—to the last drop of our blood But we won t cooperate with the Bolsheviki in any way "

But if Kaledin comes to Petrograd and the Bolsheviki defend the city Won t you join with them?

Of course not We will defend the city also but we won t support the Bolsheviki Kaledin is the enemy of the Revolution but the Bolsheviki are equally enemies of the Revolution

Which do you prefer—Kaledin or the Bolsheviki?

It is not a question to be discussed! he burst out impatiently I tell you the Revolution is lost And it is the Bolsheviki who are to blame But listen—why should we talk of such things? Kerensky is coming Day after tomorrow we shall pass to the offensive Already Smolny has sent delegates inviting us to form a new Government But we have them now—they are absolutely impotent We shall not cooperate

Outside there was a shot We ran to the windows A Red Guard finally exasperated by the taunts of the crowd had shot into it wounding a young girl in the arm We could see her being lifted into a cab surrounded by an excited throng the clamour of whose voices floated up to us As we looked suddenly an armoured automobile

appeared around the corner of the Mikhailovsky its guns slung this way and that Immediately the crowd began to run as Petrograd crowds do falling down and lying still in the street piled in the gutters heaped up behind telephone poles The car lumbered up to the steps of the Duma and a man stuck his head out of the turret demanding the surrender of the *Soldatski Golos* The boy scouts jeered and scuttled into the building After a moment the automobile wheeled undecidedly around and went off up the Nevsky while some hundreds of men and women picked themselves up and began to dust their clothes

Inside was a prodigious running about of people with armfuls of *Soldatski Golos* looking for places to hide them

A journalist came running into the room waving a paper

Here s a proclamation from Krasnov! he cried Everybody crowded around Get it printed—get it printed quick and around to the barracks!

By the order of the Supreme Commander I am appointed commandant of the troops concentrated under Petrograd

Citizens soldiers valorous Cossacks of the Don of the Kuban of the Transbaikal of the Amur of the Yenissei to all you who have remained faithful to your oath I appeal to you who have sworn to guard inviolable your oath of Cossack—I call upon you to save Petrograd from anarchy from famine from tyranny and to save Russia from the indelible shame to which a handful of ignorant men bought by the gold of Wilhelm are trying to submit her

The Provisional Government to which you swore fidelity in the great days of March is not overthrown but by violence expelled from the edifice in which it held its meetings However the Government with the help of the Front armies faithful to their duty with the help of the Council of Cos

sa ks which has united under its command all the Cossacks and which stron, with the morale which reigns in its ranks and actir, in accordance with the will of the Russian people has sworn to serve the country as its ancestors served it in the Troublous Times of 1612 when the Cossacks of the Don delivered Moscow menaced by the Swedes the Poles and the Lithuanians Your Government still exists

The active army considers these criminals with horror and contempt Their acts of vandalism and pilla e their crimes the German mentality with which they re,ard Russia—stricken down but not yet surrendered—have alienated from them the entire people

Citizens soldiers valorous Cossacks of the garrison of Petrograd sen l m your dele ates so that I may know who are traitors to their country and who are not, that there may be avoided an effusion of innocent blood

Almost the same moment wo d ran from group to group that the buildin, was surrounded by Red Guards An offi cer strode in a red band around his arm demandin, the Mayor A few minutes later he left and old Schreider came out of his office red and pale by turns

A special meetin, of the Duma! he cried Immedi ately!

In the bi hall proceedings were halted All members of the Duma for a special meeting!

What s the matter?

I don t know—goin, to arrest us—going to dissolve the Duma—arrestin, members at the door— so ran the excited comments

In the Nicolai Hall there was barely room to stand The Mayor announced that troops were stationed at all the doors prohibiting all exit and entrance and that a Commissar had threatened arrest and the dispersal of the Municipal Duma A flood of impassioned speeches from

members and even from the galleries responded The freely elected City Government could not be dissolved by *any* power the Mayor s person and that of all the members were inviolable the tyrants the provocators the German agents should never be recognised as for these threats to dissolve us let them try—only over our dead bodies shall they seize this chamber where like the Roman senators of old we await with dignity the coming of the Goths

Resolution to inform the Dumas and Zemstvos of all Russia by telegraph Resolution that it was impossible for the Mayor or the Chairman of the Duma to enter into any relations whatever with representatives of the Military Revolutionary Committee or with the so-called Council of People s Commissars Resolution to address another appeal to the population of Petrograd to stand up for the defence of their elected town government Resolution to remain in permanent session

In the meanwhile one member arrived with the information that he had telephoned to Smolny and that the Military Revolutionary Committee said that no orders had been given to surround the Duma and that the troops would be withdrawn

As we went downstairs Riazanov burst in through the front door very agitated

Are you going to dissolve the Duma? I asked

My God no! he answered It is all a mistake I told the Mayor this morning that the Duma would be left alone

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The Duma w s d sol d n verth less by d c ee f N embe 29 The M yor G I Sh e der of wh m s th ead r m st h re not ced Re d speaks al ays with re pect d pit h s hostil ty to the B l h ik seizure f power w s Soc l t Re olut n ry of the mod r t left He w rre t d at the end f No embe b t rel ed agai bec se the Military Re ol t onary Comm ttee co ld ot th k f ny ch rg t m ke agai t h m Co t ary t the doctr naire beli f th t the b g town were Marxist ie Social Demo-

Out on the Nevsky in the deepening dusk a long double file of cyclists came riding guns slung on their shoulders They halted and the crowd pressed in and deluged them with questions

Who are you? Where do you come from? asked a fat old man with a cigar in his mouth

Twelfth Army From the front We came to support the Soviets against the damn bourgeoisie!

Ah! were furious cries Bolshevik gendarmes! Bolshevik Cossacks!

A little officer in a leather coat came running down the steps The garrison is turning! he muttered in my ear It s the beginning of the end of the Bolsheviki Do you want to see the turn of the tide? Come on! He started at a half trot up the Mikhailovsky and we followed

What regiment is it?

The *bronoviki* Here was indeed serious trouble The *bronoviki* were the Armoured Car troops the key to the situation whoever controlled the *bronoviki* controlled the city The Commissars of the Committee for Salvation and the Duma have been talking to them There s a meeting on to decide

Decide what? Which side they ll fight on?

Oh no That s not the way to do it They ll never fight against the Bolsheviki They will vote to remain neutral —and then the *yunkers* and Cossacks——

The door of the great Mikhailovsky Riding School y wned *blackly* Two sentinels tried to stop us but we brushed by hurriedly deaf to their indignant expostula

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L be l m y f h l g se i 1917 lec d Soc list R l on m ors G I Shr d in P trogr d, V V R d in Mosc w I P R bise Kiev I N Lo dk p dze in Ode sa A. A N k i Ros o Do M k se l S rato S A. N konov in Sevastopol et O S M le d g SR became p d f th City Dum of Mosco d V A Karel f the City Duma f Karkho l th villages th SR had se ou oppo on —Ed

tions Inside only a single arc light burned dimly high up near the roof of the enormous hall, whose lofty pilasters and rows of windows vanished in the gloom Around dimly squatted the monstrous shapes of the armoured cars One stood alone in the centre of the place under the light and round it were gathered some two thousand dun colored soldiers almost lost in the immensity of that imperial building A dozen men officers chairmen of the Soldiers Committees and speakers were perched on top of the car and from the central turret a soldier was speaking This was Khanjunov who had been president of last summer s all Russian Congress of *Brovoviki* A lithe handsome figure in his leather coat with lieutenant s shoulder straps he stood pleading eloquently for neutrality

It is an awful thing he said for Russians to kill their Russian brothers There must not be civil war between soldiers who stood shoulder to shoulder against the Tsar and conquered the foreign enemy in battles which will go down in history! What have we soldiers got to do with these squabbles of political parties? I will not say to you that the Provisional Government was a democratic Government we want no coalition with the bourgeoisie—no But we must have a Government of the united democracy * or Russia is lost! With such a Government there will be no need for civil war and the killing of brother by brother!

This sounded reasonable—the great hall echoed to the crash of hands and voices

A soldier climbed up his face white and strained Comrades! he cried I came from the Rumanian front to urgently tell you all there must be peace! Peace at

*The democracy" was a term that the Soviet parties generally applied to themselves A "united democracy" would therefore be a coalition government of all the socialist parties represented in the Soviets.—*Ed*

once! Whoever can give us peace whether it be the Bolsheviki or this new Government we will follow Peace! We at the front cannot fight any longer We cannot fight either Germans or Russians—— With that he leaped down and a sort of confused agonised sound rose up from all that surging mass which burst into something like anger when the next speaker a Menshevik *oboronets* tried to say that the war must go on until the Allies were victorious

You talk like Kerensky! shouted a rough voice

A Duma delegate pleading for neutrality Him they listened to muttering uneasily feeling him not one of them Never have I seen men trying so hard to understand to decide They never moved stood staring with a sort of terrible intentness at the speaker their brows wrinkled with the effort of thought sweat standing out on their foreheads great giants of men with the innocent clear eyes of children and the faces of epic warriors

Now a Bolshevik was speaking one of their own men violently full of hate They liked him no more than the other It was not their mood For the moment they were lifted out of the ordinary run of common thoughts thinking in terms of Russia of Socialism the world as if it depended on them whether the Revolution were to live or die

Speaker succeeded speaker debating amid tense silence roars of approval or anger should we come out or not? Khanjunov returned persuasive and sympathetic But wasn t he an officer and an *oboronets* however much he talked of peace? Then a workman from Vasili Ostrov but him they greeted with And are *you* going to give us peace workingman? Near us some men many of them officers formed a sort of *claque* to cheer the advocates of Neutrality They kept shouting Khanjunov! Khanjunov!

and whistled insultingly when the Bolsheviki tried to speak

Suddenly the committeemen and officers on top of the automobile began to discuss something with great heat and much gesticulation The audience shouted to know what was the matter, and all the great mass tossed and stirred A soldier held back by one of the officers wrenched him self loose and held up his hand

Comrades' ' he cried Comrade Krylenko is here and wants to speak to us An outburst of cheers whistlings yells of *Prosim' Prosim' Doloi'* Go ahead' Go ahead' Down with him' in the midst of which the Peoples Commissar for Military Affairs clambered up the side of the car helped by hands before and behind pushed and pulled from below and above Rising he stood for a moment and then walked out on the radiator put his hands on his hips and looked around smiling a squat short legged figure bare headed without insignia on his uniform

The *claque* near me kept up a fearful shouting Khanjunov' We want Khanjunov' Down with him' Shut up' Down with the traitor' The whole place seethed and roared Then it began to move like an avalanche bearing down upon us great black browed men forcing their way through

Who is breaking up our meeting? they shouted Who is whistling here? The *claque* rudely burst asunder went flying—nor did it gather again

Comrade soldiers' began Krylenko in a voice husky with fatigue I cannot speak well to you I am sorry but I have not had any sleep for four nights

I don t need to tell you that I am a soldier I don t need to tell you that I want peace What I must say is that the Bolshevik party successful in the Workers and Sol diers Revolution by the help of you and of all the rest

of the brave comrades who have hurled down forever the power of the blood thirsty bour_geoisie promised to offer peace to all the peoples and that has already been done—to-day' Tumultuous applause

You are asked to remain neutral—to remain neutral while the *junkers* and the Death Battalions who are *never* neutral shoot us down in the streets and bring back to Petrograd Kerensky—or perhaps some other of the gang Kaledin is marching from the Don Kerensky is coming from the front Kornilov is raisin_g the *Tekhintsi* to repeat his attempt of August All these Mensheviki and Socialist Revolutionaries who call upon you now to prevent civil war—how have they retained the power except by civil war that civil war which has endured ever since last July and in which they constantly stood on the side of the bourgeoisie as they do now?

How can I persuade you if you have made up your minds? The que tion is very plain On one side are Kerensky Kaledin Kornilov the Mensheviki Socialist Revolutionaries Cadets Dumas officers They tell u that their objects are _good On the other side are the workers the soldiers and sailors the poorest peasants The Government is in your hands You are the masters Great Russia belon_gs to you Will you _give it back?

While he spoke he kept himself up by sheer evident effort of will and as he went on the deep sincere feelin_g back of his words broke throu h the tired voice At the end he tottered almost fallin a hundred hands reached up to help him down and the great dim spaces of the hall gave back the surf of sound that beat upon him

Khanjunov tried to speak a_gain but Vote' Vote' Vote' they cried At length giving in he read the resolu tion that the *bronoviki* withdraw their representative from the Military Revolutionary Committee and declare their

neutrality in the present civil war All those in favour should go to the right those opposed to the left There was a moment of hesitation a still expectancy and then the crowd began to surge faster and faster stumbling over one another to the left hundreds of big soldiers in a solid mass rushing across the dirt floor in the faint light Near us about fifty men were left stranded stubbornly in favour and even as the high roof shook under the shock of victorious roaring they turned and rapidly walked out of the building—and some of them out of the Revolution

Imagine this struggle being repeated in every barracks of the city the district the whole front all Russia Imagine the sleepless Krylenkos watching the regiments hurrying from place to place arguing threatening entreating And then imagine the same in all the locals of every labour union in the factories the villages on the battle ships of the far flung Russian fleets think of the hundreds of thousands of Russian men staring up at speakers all over the vast country workmen peasants soldiers sailors trying so hard to understand and to choose thinking so intensely—and deciding so unanimously at the end So was the Russian Revolution

Up at Smolny the new Council of People s Commissars was not idle Already the first decree was on the presses to be circulated in thousands through the city streets that night and shipped in bales by every train southward and east

In the name of the Government of the Russian Republic chosen by the All Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers and Soldiers Deputies with participation of peasant deputies the Council of People s Commissars decrees

1 The elections for the Constituent Assembly shall take place at the date determin d upon—November 1?

All electoral commissions orc ns of local self govern ment Soviets of Workers Soldiers and Peasants Deputies and soldie*s or nisations on th front should make every effort to assure free and re*ular elections at the date de termined upon

In the name of the Government of the Russian Republi
The President of the Council of People's Commissars
VLADIMIR ULIANOV—LENIN

In the Municipal buildin, the Duma was in full blast A member of the Council of the Republic was talking as we came in The Council he said did not consid r itself dissolved at all but merely unable to continue its labours until it secured a n w m ting place In the meanwhile its Committee of Elders had determined to ent r *en masse* the Committe for Salvation This I may remark parenthetically is the last time history mentions the Council of the Russian Republic

Then followed the customary strin of delegates from the Ministries the *Vikhel* the Union of Posts and Telegraphs for the hundredth time reiterating th ir d termination not to work for the Bolshevik usurpers A *yunker* who had been in the Winter Palace told a highly-coloured tale of the heroism of himself and his comrades and disgraceful conduct of the Red Guards—all of which was devoutly believed Somebody read aloud an account in the Socialist Revolutionary paper *Narod* which stated th t five hundred million rubles worth of damage had been done in the Winter Palace and describing in great detail the loot and breakage

From time to time couriers came from the telephone

November 25 on th N w Styl calendar that Reed has been using thr ughout the book.—*Ed.*

with news The four Socialist Ministers had been released from prison Krylenko had gone to Peter Paul to tell Admiral Verderevsky that the Ministry of Marine was deserted and to beg him for the sake of Russia to take charge under the authority of the Council of Peoples Commissars and the old seaman had consented Kerensky was advancing north from Gatchina the Bolshevik garrisons falling back before him Smolny had issued another decree enlarging the powers of the City Dumas to deal with food supplies

This last piece of insolence caused an outburst of fury He Lenin, the usurper the tyrant whose Commissars had seized the Municipal garage entered the Municipal warehouses were interfering with the Supply Committees and the distribution of food—he presumed to define the limits of power of the free independent autonomous City Government! One member shaking his fist moved to cut off the food of the city if the Bolsheviki dared to interfere with the Supply Committees Another representative of the Special Supply Committee reported that the food situation was very grave and asked that emissaries be sent out to hasten food trains

Diedonenko announced dramatically that the garrison was wavering The Semionovsky regiment had already decided to submit to the orders of the Socialist Revolutionary party the crews of the torpedo-boats on the Neva were shaky Seven members were at once appointed to continue the propaganda

Then the old Mayor stepped into the tribune Comrades and citizens! I have just learned that the prisoners in Peter Paul are in danger Fourteen *yunkers* of the Pavlovsk school have been stripped and tortured by the Bolshevik guards One has gone mad They are threatening to lynch the Ministers! There was a whirlwind of in

dignation and horror which only grew more violent when a stocky little woman dressed in grey demanded the floor and lifted up her hard metallic voice This was Vera Slutskaya veteran revolutionist and Bolshevik member of the Duma

That is a lie and a provocation! she said unmoved at th torrent of abuse The Workers and Peasants Government which has abolished the death penalty cannot permit such deeds We demand that this story be investigated at once if there is any truth in it the Government will take energetic measures!

A commission composed of members of all parties was immediately appointed and with the Mayor sent to Peter Paul to investigate As we followed them out the Duma was appointing another commission to meet Kerensky—to try and avoid bloodshed when he entered the capital

It was midnight when we bluffed our way past the guards at the gate of the fortress and went forward under the faint glimmer of rare electric lights along the side of the church where lie the tombs of the Tsars beneath the slender golden spire and the chimes which for months continued to play *Bozhe Tsaria Khrani** every day at noon The place was deserted in most of the windows there were not even lights Occasionally we bumped into a burly figure stumbling along in the dark who answered questions with the usual *Ya nie znayu*

On the left loomed the low dark outline of Trubetskoi Bastion that living grave in which so many martyrs of liberty had lost their lives or their reason in th days of the Tsar where the Provisional Government had in turn shut up the Ministers of the Tsar and now the Bolsheviki

* God save th Tsar

Ком ссара
Глав аго /ея ле iя до-
мозв ама че iя
6 Ноября 1917 г
№ 213
Петроград С о л ий
Институтъ комн № 56

ПРОПУСКЪ

Предст вителю А рик нскихъ Социа стически газетъ ДЖОНУ РИДУ о сб с ... чe iя тр П трограда и Кронит та для осмотр о ... iя положе iя ... и ... го освiдо ... нiя въ цiляхъ прекращенiя газетн... вран и прот ... Д ократiи

... Ко ... ссаръ
Секрет ...

Pass from the the Department of Prisons of the Soviet Government to visit freely all prisons of Petrograd and Cronstadt

TRANSLATION

Commissar
Chief Bureau of Prisons
6th of November 1917
No 213
Petrograd Smolny
Institute room No 56—

PASS

To the representative of the American Socialist press JOHN REED to visit all places of confinement in the cities of Petrograd and Cronstadt for the purpose of generally investigating the condition of the prisoners and for thorough social information for the purpose of stopping the flood of newspaper lies against democracy

Chief Commissar
Secretary

had shut up the Ministers of the Provisional Government

A friendly sailor led us to the office of the commandant, in a little house near the Mint Half a dozen Red Guards, sailors and soldiers were sitting around a hot room full of smoke in which a samovar steamed cheerfully They wel

comed us with great cordiality offering tea The commandant was not in he was escorting a commission of *sabotazhniki* (sabotageurs) from the City Duma who insisted that the *yunkers* were all being murdered This seemed to amuse them very much At one side of the room sat a bald headed dissipated looking little man in a frock-coat and a rich fur coat biting his moustache and starin around him like a cornered rat He had just been arrested Somebody said glancing carelessly at him that he was a Minister or something The little man didn t seem to hear it he was evidently terrified although the occupants of the room showed no animosity whatever toward him

I went across and spoke to him in French Count Tolstoy he answered bowing stiffly I do not understand why I was arrested I was crossing the Troitsky Bridge on my way home when two of these—of these—persons held me up I was a Commissar of the Provisional Government attached to the General Staff but in no sense a member of the Government.

Let him go said a sailor He s harmless

No responded the soldier who had brought the prisoner We must ask the commandant

Oh the commandant! sneered the sailor What did you make a revolution for? To go on obeying officers?

A *praporshchik** of the Pavlovsky regiment was telling us how the insurrection started The *polk* (regiment) was on duty at the General Staff the night of the 6th Some of my comrades and I were standing guard Ivan Pavlovich and another man—I don t remember his name—well they hid behind the window-curtains in the room where the Staff was having a *meeting* and they heard a great many things For example they heard orders to bring the

* Ensign corresponding to our second lieutenant.—*Ed*

Gatchina *yunkers* to Petrograd by night and an order for the Cossacks to be ready to march in the morning The principal points in the city were to be occupied before dawn Then there was the business of openin th bridges But when they began to talk about surroundin Smolny then Ivan Pavlovitch couldn t stand it any lon er That *minute there was a good deal of coming* and goin so he slipped out and came down to the guard room leaving the other comrade to pick up what he could

I was already suspicious that something was goin on Automobiles full of officers kept coming and all the Ministers were there Ivan Pavlovich told me what he had heard It was half past two in the morning The secretary of the regimental Committee was there so we told him and asked what to do

Arrest everybody coming and going! he says So we began to do it In an hour we had some officers and a couple of Ministers whom we sent up to Smolny ri ht away But the Military Revolutionary Committee wasn t ready they didn t know what to do and pretty soon back came the order to let everybody go and not arrest any body else Well we ran all the way to Smolny and I guess we talked for an hour before they finally saw that it was war It was five o clock when we got back to th Staff and by that time most of them were gone But we got a few and the garrison was all on the march

A Red Guard from Vasili Ostrov described in great detail what had happened in his district on the great day of the rising We didn t have any machine guns ov r *there* he said laughing *and we couldn t get any fr m* Smolny Comrade Zalkind who was a member of the *Uprava* (Central Bureau) of the Ward Duma rem m bered all at once that there was lying in the meeting room

of the *Up ava* a machine gun which had been captured from the Germans So he and I and another comrade went the e The Mensheviki and Socialist Revolutionaries were havin, a meeting Well we opened the door and walked right in on them as they sat around the table—twelve or fifteen of them three of us When they saw us they stopped talkin, and just stared We walked right across the room uncoupled the machine gun Comrade Zalkind picked up one part I the other we put them on our shoulders and walked out—and not a sin,le man said a word!

Do you know how the Winter Palace was captured? asked a third man a sailor Along about eleven o clock we found out there weren t any more *yunkers* on the Neva side So we broke in the doors and filtered up the different stairways one by one or in little bunches When we got to the top of the stairs the *yunkers* held us up and took away our guns Still our fellows kept coming up little by little until we had a majority Then we turned around and took away the *yunkers* guns

Just then the commandant entered—a merry looking youn, non-commissioned officer with his arm in a sling and deep circles of sleeplessness under his eyes His eye fell first on the prisoner who at once began to explain

Oh yes interrupted the other You were one of the committee who refused to surrender the Staff Wednesday afternoon However we don t want you citizen Apolo,ies —" He opened the door and waved his arm for Count Tolstoy to leave Several of the others especially the Red Guards grumbled protests and the sailor remarked tri umphantly *Vot!* There! Didn t I say so?

Two soldiers now en,aged his attention They had been elected a committee of the fortress garrison to protest The prisoners they said were getting the same food as the

guards, when there wasn t even enough to keep a man from being hungry Why should the counter revolutionists be treated so well?

We are revolutionists comrades not bandits answered the commandant He turned to us We explained that rumours were going about that the *yunkers* were being tortured and the lives of the Ministers threatened Could we perhaps see the prisoners, so as to be able to prove to the world——?"

No said the young soldier irritably I am not going to disturb the prisoners again I have just been compelled to wake them up—they were sure we were going to massacre them Most of the *yunkers* have been released anyway and the rest will go out to morrow He turned abruptly away

Could we talk to the Duma commission then?

The commandant who was pouring himself a glass of tea nodded They are still out in the hall he said carelessly

Indeed they stood there just outside the door in the feeble light of an oil lamp grouped around the Mayor and talking excitedly

Mr Mayor I said we are American correspondents Will you please tell us officially the result of your investigations?

He turned to us his face of venerable dignity

There is no truth in the reports he said slowly Except for the incidents which occurred as the Ministers were being brought here they have been treated with every consideration As for the *yunkers* not one has received the slightest injury

Up the Nevsky in the empty after midnight gloom an interminable column of soldiers shuffled in silence—to

battle with Kerensky In dim back streets automobiles without lights flitted to and fro and there was furtive activity in Fontanka 6 headquarters of the Peasants Soviet in a certain apartment of a huge building on the Nevsky and in the *Inzhinerny Zamok* (School of Engineers) the Duma was illuminated

In Smolny Institute the Military Revolutionary Committee flashed baleful fire pounding like an over loaded dynamo

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

1 Appeals and Denunciations

Appeal to all Citizens and to the Military Organisations of the Socialist Revolutionary Party

"The senseless attempt of the Bolsheviki is on the eve of complete failure The garrison is disaffected. The Ministries are idle bread is lacking All factions except a handful of Bolsheviki have left the Congress of So iets The Bolsheviki are alone! Abuses of all sorts acts of vandalism and pillage the bor-h d ment of the Winter Palace arbitrary arrests—all these crimes committed by the Bolsheviki have aroused aga nst them the resentment of the majority of the sailors and sold ers The *Tsen t flot* refuses to submit to the orders of the Bolsheviki

We call upon all sane elements to gather around the Committee for Sal at on of Country and Re olution to take serious measures to be ready at the first call of the Central Committee of th Party to act against the counter revolutionists who will doubtless attempt to profit by these troubles provoked by the Bolshev k ad enture and to watch closely the external enemy who al o would l ke to take advanta e of this opportune moment when the Front is weakened.

Th M l tary Sect on of th Central Comm ttee of the Socialist Revolutio ry Party

* * * *

From *Pravda*

"What is Kerensky?

"A usurper whose place is in Peter Paul prison with Kornilov and Kishkin

"A criminal and a traitor to the workers soldiers and peasants, who believed in him

"Kerensky? A murderer of soldiers!

Kerensky? A public executioner of peasants!

Kerensky? A strangler of workers!

Such is the second Kornilov who now wants to butcher Liberty!

CHAPTER VII

THE REVOLUTIONARY FRONT

Saturday November 10th

> Citizens!
>
> The Military Revolutionary Committee declares that it will not tolerate any violation of revolutionary order
>
> Theft, brigandage assaults and attempts at massacre will be severely punished
>
> Following the example of the Paris Commune the Committee will destroy without mercy any looter or instigator of disorder

Quiet lay the city Not a hold up not a robbery not even a drunken fight By night armed patrols went through the silent streets and on the corners soldiers and Red Guards squatted around little fires laughing and singing In the daytime great crowds gathered on the sidewalks listening to interminable hot debates between students and soldiers business men and workmen

Citizens stopped each other on the street

'The Cossacks are coming?

No

What s the latest?

I don t know anything Where s Kerensky?

They say only eight versts from Petrograd Is it true that the Bolsheviki have fled to the battleship *Avrora*?

They say so

Only the walls screamed, and the few newspapers denunciation appeal decree

An enormous poster carried the hysterical manifesto of the Executive Committee of the Peasants Soviets

They (the Bolsheviki) dare to say that they are supported by the Soviets of Peasants Deputies and that they are speaking on behalf of the Soviets of Peasants Deputies

Let all working class Russia know that this is a LIE AND THAT ALL THE WORKING PEASANTS—in the person of—the EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF ALL RUSSIAN SOVIETS OF PEASANTS DEPUTIES—refutes with indignation all participation of the organised peasantry in this criminal violation of the will of the working classes

From the Soldier Section of the Socialist Revolutionary party

The insane attempt of the Bolsheviki is on the eve of collapse The garrison is divided The Ministries are on strike and bread is getting scarcer All factions except the few Bolsheviki have left the Congress The Bolsheviki are alone

We call upon all sane elements to group themselves around the Committee for Salvation of Country and Revolution and to prepare themselves seriously to be ready at the first call of the Central Committee

In a hand bill the Council of the Republic recited its wrongs

Ceding to the force of bayonets the Council of the Re public has been obliged to separate and temporarily to in terrupt its meetings

The usurpers with the words Liberty and Socialism" on their lips have set up a rule of arbitrary violence They have arrested the members of the Provisional Government closed the newspapers seized the printing shops This power must be considered the enemy of the people and the Revolution it is necessary to do b ttle with it and to pull it down

The Coun il of the Republic until the resumption of its labours invites the citizens of the Russian Republic to group themselves around the local Committees for Salvation of Country and Revolution which are organising the over throw of the Bolsheviks and the creation of a Government capable of leading the country to the Constituent Assembly

Dielo Naroda said

A revolut on is a rising of all the people But here what have we? Nothing but a handful of poor fools d ceived by Lenin and Trotsky Their decrees and their app als will simply add to the mu eum of historical curiosities

And *Narodnoye Slovo* (People s Word—Populist Social ist)

Workers and Peasants Government? That is only a pipe dream nobody either in Rus ia or in the countries of our Allies will recognise this Government —or even in the enemy countries.

The bourgeois press had temporarily disappeared *
Pravda had an account of the first meeting of the new

* For the fat of th p ss, "bou geo nd soci list, see ote 1 t th d f thi h pte —Ed

Tsay ee kah now the parliament of the Russian Soviet Republic Miliutin Commissar of Agriculture remarked that the Peasants Executive Committee had called an All Russian Peasant Congress for December 13th

But we cannot wait he said We must have the backing of the peasants I propose that *we* call the Congress of Peasants and do it immediately The Left Socialist Revolutionaries agreed An Appeal to the Peasants of Russia was hastily drafted and a committee of five elected to carry out the project

The question of detailed plans for distributing the land and the question of Workers Control of Industry were postponed until the experts working on them should submit a report

Three decrees were read and approved first Lenin s General Rules for the Press ordering the suppression of all newspapers inciting to resistance and disobedience to the new Government inciting to criminal acts or deliberately perverting the news [1] the Decree of Moratorium for House rents and the Decree Establishing a Workers Militia Also orders one giving the Municipal Duma power to requisition empty apartments and houses the other directing the unloading of freightcars in the railroad terminals to hasten the distribution of necessities and to free the badly needed rolling stock

Two hours later the Executive Committee of the Peasants Soviets was sending broadcast over Russia the following telegram

The arbitrary organisation of the Bolsheviki which is called Bureau of Organisation for the National Congress of Peasants is inviting all the Peasants Soviets to send delegates to the Congress at Petrograd

The Executive Committee of the Soviets of Peasants

Deputies declares that it considers now as well as before that it would be dan erous to take away *from the provinces* at this moment the forces necessary to prepare for elections to the Constituent Assembly which is the only salvation of the working-class and the country We confirm the date of the Congress of Peasants *December 13th*

At the Duma all was excitement officers coming and goin the Mayor in conference with the leaders of the Committee for Salvation A Councillor ran in with a copy of Kerensky s proclamation dropped by hundreds from an aeroplane low flyin down the Nevsky which threat ened terrible vengeance on all who did not submit, and ordered soldiers to lay down their arms and assemble im mediately in Mars Field

The Minister President had taken Tsarskoye Selo we were told and was already in the Petrograd campagna five miles away He would enter the city to-morrow—in a few hours The Soviet troops in contact with his Cossacks were said to be goin over to the Provisional Government Chernov was somewhere in between trying to o ganise the neutral troops into a force to halt the civil war

In the city the garrison regiments were leaving the Bolsheviki they said Smolny was already abandoned

All the Governmental machinery had stopped functioning The employees of the State Bank had refused to work under Commissars from Smolny refused to pay out money to them All the private banks were closed The Ministries were on strike Even now a committee from the Duma was making the rounds of business houses collecting a fund [3] to pay the salaries of the strikers

Trotsky had gone to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and ordered the clerks to translate the Decree on Peace into

foreign languages six hundred functionaries had hurled their resignations in his face Shliapnikov Commissar of Labour had commanded all the employees of his Ministry to return to their places within twenty four hours or lose their places and their pension rights only the door servants had responded Some of the branches of the Special Food Supply Committee had suspended work rather than submit to the Bolsheviki In spite of lavish promises of high wages and better conditions the operators at the Telephone Exchange would not connect Soviet headquarters

The Socialist Revolutionary Party had voted to expel all members who had remained in the Congress of Soviets and all who were taking part in the insurrection

News from the provinces Moghilev had declared against the Bolsheviki At Kiev the Cossacks had overthrown the Soviets and arrested all the insurrectionary leaders The Soviet and garrison of Luga thirty thousand strong affirmed its loyalty to the Provisional Government and appealed to all Russia to rally around it Kaledin had dispersed all Soviets and Unions in the Don Basin and his forces were moving north

Said a representative of the Railway Workers Yesterday we sent a telegram all over Russia demanding that war between the political parties cease at once and insisting on the formation of a coalition Socialist Government Otherwise we shall call a strike to morrow night

In the morning there will be a meeting of all factions to consider the question The Bolsheviki seem anxious for an agreement

If they last that long! laughed the City Engineer a stout ruddy man

As we came up to Smolny—not abandoned but busier than ever throngs of workers and soldiers running in and

out and doubled guards everywhere—we met the reporters for the bourgeois and moderate Socialist papers

Threw us out! cried one from *Volia Naroda* "Bonch Bruevich came down to the Press Bureau and told us to leave! Said we were spies! They all began to talk at once Insult! Outrage! Freedom of the press!

In the lobby were great tables heaped with stacks of appeals proclamations and orders of the Military Revolutionary Committee Workmen and soldiers staggered past, carrying them to waiting automobiles

One began

To the Pillory!

In this tragic moment through which the Russian masses are living the Mensheviki and their followers and the Right Socialist Revolutionaries have betrayed the working-class They have enlisted on the side of Kornilov Kerensky and Savinkov

They are printing orders of the traitor Kerensky and creating a panic in the city spreading the most ridiculous rumours of mythical victories by that renegade

Citizens! Don t believe these false rumours No power can defeat the People s Revolution Premier Kerensky and his followers await speedy and well-deserved punishment.

We are putting them in the Pillory We are abandoning them to the enmity of all workers soldiers sailors and peasants on whom they are trying to rivet the ancient chains They will never be able to wash from their bodies the stain of the people s hatred and contempt.

Shame and curses to the traitors of the People!

The Military Revolutionary Committee had moved into larger quarters room 17 on the top floor Red Guards

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premonition a feeling of uneasiness in the air Kerensky s Cossacks were coming fast they had artillery Skrypnik Secretary of the Factory Shop Committees his face drawn and yellow assured me that there was a whole army corps of them but he added fiercely 'They ll never take us alive! Petrovsky laughed wearily 'To-morrow maybe we ll get a sleep—a long one Lozovsky with his emaciated red bearded face said What chance have we? All alone A mob against trained soldiers!

South and south west the Soviets had fled before Keren sky and the garrisons of Gatchina Pavlovsk Tsarskoye Selo were divided—half voting to remain neutral the rest without officers falling back on the capital in the wildest disorder

In the halls they were pasting up bulletins

From Krasnoye Selo November 10th 8 A M

To be communicated to all Commanders of Staffs Com manders in Chief Commanders everywhere and to all all all

The ex Minister Kerensky has sent a deliberately false tele gram to every one everywhere to the effect that th troops of revolutionary Petrograd have voluntarily surrendered their arms and joined the armies of the former Government the Government of Treason and that the soldiers have been ordered by the Military Revolutionary Committee to retreat The troops of a free people do not retreat nor do they sur render

Our troops have left Gatchina in order to avoid bloodshed between themselves and their mistaken brother Cossacks and in order to take a more convenient position which is at present so strong that if Kerensky and his companions in arms should even increase their forces ten times still there would be no cause for anxiety The spirit of our troops excellent

were at the door Inside the narrow space in front of the railing was crowded with well dressed persons outwardly respectful but inwardly full of murder—bourgeois who wanted permits for their automobiles or passports to leave the city among them many foreigners Bill Shatov and Peters were on duty They suspended all other business to read us the latest bulletins

The One Hundred Seventy ninth Reserve Regiment offers its unanimous support *Five thousand stevedores at* the Putilov wharves greet the new Government Central Committee of the Trade Unions—enthusiastic support *The garrison and squadron at Reval elect Military Revolu*tionary Committees to cooperate and despatch troops Military Revolutionary Committees control in Pskov and *Minsk Greetings from the Soviets of Tsaritsin* Rovensky on Don Chernogorsk Sevastopol The Finland Division the new Committees of the Fifth and Twelfth Armies offer allegiance

From Moscow the news is uncertain Troops of the Military Revolutionary Committee occupy the strategic points of the city two companies on duty in the Kremlin have gone over to the Soviets but the Arsenal is in the hands of Colonel Riabtsev and his *yunkers* The Military Revolutionary Committee demanded arms for the workers and Riabtsev parleyed with them until this morning when suddenly he sent an ultimatum to the Committee ordering Soviet troops to surrender and the Committee to disband Fighting has begun

In Petrograd the Staff submitted to Smolny s Commissars at once The *Tsentroflot* refusing was stormed *by Dybenko and a company of Cronstadt sailors* and a new *Tsentroflot* set up supported by the Baltic and the Black Sea battleships

But beneath all the breezy assurance there was a chill

Chairman of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers Deputies
People s Commissar LEON TROTSKY

Chairman of the Military Revolutionary Committee
Commander in Chief PODVOISKY

As we came out into the dark and gloomy day all around the grey horizon factory whistles were blowin a hoarse and nervous sound full of foreboding By tens of thousands the workin people poured out m n and women by tens of thousands the humming slums belched out their dun and miserable hordes Red Petrograd was in danger! Cossacks! South and southwest they poured through the shabby streets toward the Moskovsky Gate men women and children with rifles picks spades rolls of wire cartridge belts over their working clothes Such an immense spontaneous outpouring of a city never was seen! They rolled along torrent like companies of soldiers borne with them guns motor trucks wagons—the revolutionary proletariat defending with its breast the capital of the Workers and Peasants Republic!

Before the door of Smolny was an automobile A slight man with thick glasses magnifying his red rimmed eyes his speech a painful effort stood leaning against a mud guard with his hands in the pockets of a shabby raglan A great bearded sailor with the clear eyes of youth prowled restlessly about absently toying with an enor mous blue steel revolver which never left his hand These were Antonov and Dybenko

Some soldiers were trying to fasten two military bicycles on the running board The chauffeur violently protested the enamel would get scratched he said True he was a Bolshevik and the automobile was commandeered from

In Petrograd all is quiet

Chief of the Defence of Petrograd and the Petrograd District

Lieutenant Colonel MURAVIOV

As we left the Military Revolutionary Committee Antonov entered a paper in his hand looking like a corpse. Send this said he

To All District Soviets of Workers' Deputies and Factory Shop Committees

ORDER

The Kornilovist bands of Kerensky are threatening the approaches to the capital All the necessary orders have been given to crush mercilessly the counter revolutionary attempt against the people and its conquests

The Army and the Red Guard of the Revolution are i need of the immediate support of the workers

WE ORDER THE WARD SOVIETS AND FACTORY SHOP COMMITTEES

1 To move out the greatest possible number of workers for the digging of trenches the erection of barricades and reinforcing of wire entanglements

2 Wherever it shall be necessary for this purpose to stop work at the factories this shall be done immediately

3 All common and barbed wire available must be assembled and also all implements for the digging of trenches and the erection of barricades

4 All available arms must be taken

5 THE STRICTEST DISCIPLINE IS TO BE OBSERVED AND EVERY ONE MUST BE READY TO SUPPORT THE ARMY OF THE REVOLUTION BY ALL MEANS

The difficulty however was solved by the appearance of an old battered taxi-cab flying the Italian flag (In time of trouble private cars were re istered in the name of foreign consulates so as to be safe from requisition) From the interior of this was dislodged a fat citizen in an expensive fur coat and the party continued on its way

Arrived at Narvskaya Zastava about ten miles out, Antonov called for the commandant of the Red Guard He was led to the edge of the town where some few hundred workmen had dug trenches and were waiting for the Cossacks

Everything all right here comrade? asked Antonov

Everything perfect comrade answered the com mandant. The troops are in excellent spirits Only one thing—we have no ammunition "

In Smolny there are two billion rounds Antonov told him I will give you an order He felt in his pockets Has any one a piece of paper?

Dybenko had none—nor the couriers Trusishka had to offer his note book

Devil! I have no pencil! cried Antonov Who s got a pencil? Needless to say Trusishka had the only pencil in the crowd

We who were left behind made for the Tsarskoye Selo station Up the Nevsky as we passed Red Guards were marchin all armed some with bayonets and some with out The early twilight of winter was falling Heads up they tramped in the chill mud irregular lines of four without music without drums A red flag crudely lettered in gold Peace! Land! floated over them They were very young The expression on their faces was that of men who know they are going to die Half fearful half con

a bourgeois true the bicycles were for the use of orderlies But the chauffeur s professional pride was revolted So the bicycles were abandoned

The People s Commissars for War and Marine were going to inspect the revolutionary front—wherever that was Could we go with them? Certainly not The automobile only held five—the two Commissars two orderlies and the chauffeur However, a Russian acquaintance of mine whom I will call Trusishka calmly got in and sat down nor could any argument dislodge him

I see no reason to doubt Trusishka s story of the journey As they went down the Suvorovsky Prospekt some one mentioned food They might be out three or four days in a country indifferently well provisioned They stopped the car Money? The Commissar of War looked through his pockets—he hadn t a kopek The Commissar of Marine was broke So was the chauffeur Trusishka bought the provisions

Just as they turned into the Nevsky a tire blew out

What shall we do? asked Antonov

Commandeer another machine! suggested Dybenko waving his revolver Antonov stood in the middle of the street and signalled a passing machine driven by a soldier

I want that machine said Antonov

You won t get it responded the soldier

Do you know who I am? Antonov produced a paper upon which was written that he had been appointed Commander in Chief of all the armies of the Russian Republic, and that every one should obey him without question

I don t care if you re the devil himself said the soldier hotly This machine belongs to the First Machine Gun Regiment and we re carrying ammunition in it and you can t have it

CERTIFICATE

The present certificate is given to the representative of the American Social Democracy the internationalist comrade JOHN REED The Military Revolutionary Committee of the Petersburg Soviet of Workers and Soldiers Deputies gives him the right of free travel through the entire Northern front, for the purpose of reporting to our American comrades internationalists concerning events in Russia.

For the President
For the Secretary

---

temptuous the crowds on the sidewalk watched them pass in hateful silence

At the railroad station nobody knew just where Kerensky was or where the front lay Trains went no further however than Tsarskoye

Our car was full of commuters and country people going home laden with bundles and evening papers The talk was all of the Bolshevik rising Outside of that however one would never have realised that civil war was rending mighty Russia in two and that the train was headed into the zone of battle Through the window we could see in the swiftly-deepening darkness masses of soldiers going along the muddy road toward the city flinging out their arms in argument A freight train swarming with troops and lit up by huge bonfires was halted on a siding That was all Back along the flat horizon the glow of the city s lights faded down the night A street-car crawled distantly along a far flung suburb

Tsarskoye Selo station was quiet but knots of soldiers stood here and there talking in low tones and looking uneasily down the empty track in the direction of Gatchina. I asked some of them which side they were on "Well," said one we don t exactly know the rights of the matter. There is no doubt that Kerensky is a provocator but we do not consider it right for Russian men to be shooting Russian men

In the station commandant s office was a big jovial,

Исполнительный Комитет
Петроградского Совѣта
Рабочихъ Солдатскихъ
Депутатовъ
Военный Отдѣлъ

28 Октября 1917 г.
№ 1435

УДОСТОВѢРЕНІЕ

Настоящее удостовѣреніе дано представителю Американской Соціалъ-демократіи Интернаціоналистъ товарищу ДЖОНУ РИДУ въ томъ, Военно-Революціонный Комитетъ Петроградскаго Совѣта Рабочихъ и Солдатскихъ Депутатовъ предоставляетъ ему право свободнаго проѣзда по Сѣверному фронту въ цѣляхъ освѣдомленія нашихъ Американскихъ товарищей интернаціоналистовъ о событіяхъ въ Россіи



Предсѣдатель:

Секретарь:

This pass was issued upon the recommendation of Trotsky three days after the Bolshevik Revolution It gives me the right of free travel to the Northern front—and an added note on the back extends the permission to all fronts It will be noticed that the text speaks of the *Petersburg* instead of the *Petrograd* Soviet *it* was the fashion among thorough going internationalists to abolish all names which smacked of "patriotism" but at the same time it would not do to restore the "Saint"

TRANSLATION

Executive Committee/Petrograd Soviet of
Workers and Soldiers Deputies
Military Section
28th October 1917
No 1435

Now brother answered the soldier earnestly you don t understand There are two classes don t you see the proletariat and the bourgeoisie We——

Oh I know that silly talk! broke in the stud nt rudely A bunch of ignorant peasants like you hear somebody bawlin, a few catch words You don t under stand what they mean You just echo them like a lot of parrots The crowd laughed I m a Marxian student And I tell you that this isn t Socialism you are fi,hting for It s just plain pro-German anarchy!

Oh yes I know" answered the soldier with sweat dripping from his brow You are an educated man that is easy to see and I am only a simple man But it seems to me——

I suppose interrupted the other contemptuously that you believe Lenin is a real friend of the proletariat?"

Yes I do answered the soldier suffering

Well my friend do you know that Lenin was sent throu h Germany in a closed car? Do you know that Lenin took money from the Germans?

Well I don t know much about that answered the soldier stubbornly but it seems to me that what h says is what I want to hear and all the simple men like me Now there are two classes the bourgeoise and the proletariat——

You are a fool! Why my friend I spent two years in Schlusselburg for revolutionary activity when you were still shooting down revolutionists and singing God Save the Tsar! My name is Vasili Keorgevich Panyin Didn t you ever hear of me?

I m sorry to say I never did answered the soldier with humility But then I am not an educated man You are probably a ,reat hero

I am said the student with conviction And I am

bearded common soldier wearing the red arm band of a regimental committee Our credentials from Smolny commanded immediate respect He was plainly for the Soviets but bewildered

The Red Guards were here two hours ago but they went away again A Commissar came this morning but he returned to Petrograd when the Cossacks arrived

"The Cossacks are here then?

He nodded gloomily There has been a battle The Cossacks came early in the morning They captured two or three hundred of our men and killed about twenty five"

Where are the Cossacks?

Well they didn t get this far I don t know just where they are Off that way He waved his arm vaguely westward

We had dinner—an excellent dinner better and cheaper than could be got in Petrograd—in the station restaurant. Nearby sat a French officer who had just come on foot from Gatchina All was quiet there he said Kerensky *held the town Ah these Russians he went on they* are original! What a civil war! Everything except the fighting!

We sallied out into the town Just at the door of the station stood two soldiers with rifles and bayonets fixed They were surrounded by about a hundred business men Government officials and students who attacked them with passionate argument and epithet The soldiers were uncomfortable and hurt like children unjustly scolded

A tall young man with a supercilious expression dressed in the uniform of a student was leading the attack

You realise I presume he said insolently that by taking up arms against your brothers you are making yourselves *the tools of murderers and traitors?*

down the street hand in hand I showed them my pass from Smolny Are you for the Soviets? I asked They did not answer but looked at each other in a frightened way

What is going on in there? asked the sailor pointing to the building

I don t know

Timidly the soldier put out his hand and opened the door a crack. Inside a great hall hung with bunting and evergreens rows of chairs a stage being built

A stout woman with a hammer in her hand and her mouth full of tacks came out What do you want? she asked

Is there a performance to-night? said the sailor nervously

'There will be private theatricals Sunday night she answered severely Go away

We tried to engage the soldier and sailor in conversation but they seemed frightened and unhappy and drew off into the darkness

We strolled toward the Imperial Palaces along the edge of the vast dark gardens their fantastic pavilions and ornamental bridges looming uncertainly in the night and soft water splashing from the fountains At one place where a ridiculous iron swan spat unceasingly from an artificial grotto we were suddenly aware of observation and looked up to encounter the sullen suspicious gaze of half a dozen gigantic armed soldiers who stared moodily down from a grassy terrace I climbed up to them Who are you? I asked

We are the guard answered one They all looked very depressed as undoubtedly they were from weeks and weeks of all-day all night argument and debate

opposed to the Bolsheviki who are destroying our Russia our free Revolution Now how do you account for that?

The soldier scratched his head I can t account for it at all he said grimacing with the pain of his intellectual processes To me it seems perfectly simple—but then I m not well educated It seems like there are only two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie———

There you go again with your silly formula' cried the student

———only two classes' went on the soldier doggedly And whoever isn t on one side is on the other

We wandered on up the street where the lights were few and far between and where people rarely passed A threatening silence hung over the place—as of a sort of purgatory between heaven and hell a political No Man s Land Only the barber shops were all brilliantly lighted and crowded and a line formed at the doors of the public bath for it was Saturday night when all Russia bathes and perfumes itself I haven t the slightest doubt that Soviet troops and Cossacks mingled in the places where these ceremonies were performed

The nearer we came to the Imperial Park the more deserted were the streets A frightened priest pointed out the headquarters of the Soviet and hurried on It was in the wing of one of the Grand Ducal palaces fronting the Park The windows were dark the door locked A soldier lounging about with his hands in the top of his trousers looked us up and down with gloomy suspicion The Sovi t went away two days ago said he Where? A shrug *Nié znayu* I don t know

A little further along was a large building brightly illuminated From within came a sound of hammering While we were hesitating a soldier and a sailor came

"You see most of the soldiers in the garrison are Bolsheviki and to-day after the battle they all went away in the direction of Petrograd taking the artillery with them You might say that none of the *soldiers* are for Kerensky but some of them just don t want to fight at all The *officers* have almost all gone over to Kerensky s forces or simply gone away We are—ahem—in a most difficult position as you see

We did not believe that there would be any battle

The Colonel courteously sent his orderly to escort us to the railroad station. He was from the South born of French immigrant parents in Bessarabia Ah he kept saying it is not the danger or the hardships I mind but being so long three years away from my mother "

Looking out of the window of the train as we sped through the cold dark toward Petrograd I caught glimpses of clumps of soldiers gesticulating in the light of fires and of clusters of armoured cars halted together at cross roads the chauffeurs hanging out of the turrets and shouting to each other

All the troubled night over the bleak flats leaderless bands of soldiers and Red Guards wandered clashing and confused and the Commissars of the Military Revolutionary Committee hurried from one group to another trying to organise a defence

Back in town excited throngs were moving in tides up and down the Nevsky Something was in the air From the Warsaw Railway station could be heard far-off cannonade In the *yunker* schools there was feverish activity Duma members went from barracks to barracks arguing and pleading narrating fearful stories of Bolshevik violence —massacre of the *yunkers* in the Winter Palace rape of the women soldiers the shooting of the girl before the

Are you Kerensky s troops or the Soviets ?

There was silence for a moment as they looked uneasily at each other Then We are neutral said he

We went on through the arch of the huge Ekaterina Palace into the Palace enclosure itself asking for head quarters A sentry outside a door in a curving white wing of the Palace said that the commandant was inside

In a graceful white Georgian room divided into un equal parts by a two sided fire place a group of officers stood anxiously talking They were pale and distracted and evidently hadn t slept To one an oldish man with a white beard his uniform studded with decorations who was pointed out as the Colonel we showed our Bolshevik papers

He seemed surprised How did you get here without being killed? he asked politely It is very dangerous in the streets just now Political passion is running very high in Tsarskoye Selo There was a battle this morning and there will be another to-morrow morning Kerensky is to enter the town at eight o clock

Where are the Cossacks?

About a mile over that way He waved his arm

And you will defend the city against them?

Oh dear no He smiled We are holding the city for Kerensky Our hearts sank for our passes stated that we were revolutionary to the core The Colonel cleared his throat About those passes of yours he went on Your lives will be in danger if you are captured There fore if you want to see the battle I will give you an order for rooms in the officers hotel and if you will come back here at seven o clock in the morning I will give you new passes

So you are for Kerensky? we said

Well not exactly *for* Kerensky The Colonel hesitated

serted street with a dozen prisoners—members of the local branch of the Council of Cossacks caught red handed plottin, counter revolution in their headquarters

A soldier accompanied by a small boy with a pail of paste was stickin, up great flaring notices

By virtue of the present, the city of Petrograd and its suburbs are declared in a state of siege All assemblies or meetings in the streets and generally in the open air are forbidden until further orders

N PODVOISKY President of the Military Revolutionary Committee

As we went home the air was full of confused sound—automobile horns shouts distant shots The city stirred uneasily wakeful

In the small hours of the morning a company of *junkers* disguised as soldiers of the Semionovsky Regiment presented themselves at the *Telephone Exchange* just before the hour of chan,ing guard They had the Bolshevik password and took charge without arousin, suspicion A few minutes later Antonov appeared makin, a round of inspection Him they captured and locked in a small room When the relief came it was met by a blast of rifle fire several being killed

Counter revolution had begun

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

1 On the Press

In the serious decisive hour of the Revolution and the days immediately following it, the Provis onal Re olutionary Com m ttee is comp lled to adopt a series of measures against the cou ter revolutionary press of all shades.

Duma the murder of Prince Tumanov In the Alex ander Hall of the Duma building the Committee for Salva tion was in special session Commissars came and went running All the journalists expelled from Smolny were there in high spirits They did not believe our re port of conditions in Tsarskoye Why everybody knew that Tsarskoye was in Kerensky s hands and that the Cos sacks were now at Pulkovo A committee was being elected to meet Kerensky at the railway station in the morn ing

One confided to me in strictest secrecy that the counter revolution would begin at midnight He showed me two proclamations one signed by Gotz and Polkovni kov ordering the *yunker* schools soldier convalescents in the hospitals and the Knights of St George to mobilise on a war footing and wait for orders from the Committee for Salvation the other from the Committee for Salvation itself which read as follows

To the Population of Petrograd!

Comrades workers soldiers and citizens of revolutionary Petrograd!

The Bolsheviki while appealing for peace at the front are inciting to civil war in the rear

Do not listen to their provocatory appeals!

Do not dig trenches!

Down with the traitorous barricades!

Lay down your arms!

Soldiers return to your barracks!

The war begun in Petrograd—is the death of the Revolu tion

In the name of liberty land and peace unite around the *Committee for Salvation of Country and Revolution!*

As we left the Duma a company of Red Guards stern faced and desperate came marching down the dark de

Supplem ntary Note on the Fate of the Press Lenin softened his first attack on the freedom of the press by emphasizing that the decree was of a temporary nature and to be revoked when normal cond tions of publ c life are re-establi hed The French ha e a proverb which says *Ce n est que le p ovisoi e qui du e* S nce normal cond tions of public life have never been re-established there is today a one party press in the Soviet Union. But the Bolsheviks had so long been advocates of freedom of the press while they were an opposition that Lenin met at first much resistance even from many of his closest associates when he attempted to shut down the other socialist journals It is even doubtful that Len n himself intended to close them down permanently The first step was the seizure of printing plants and stocks of paper for the n ed of the revolut on Sometimes this was on the o ders of the Military Re olutionary Committee and some times by simple acts of groups of sailors Red Guardsmen or Anarchists. On No ember 8 *Russkaya Voly* was seized on the order of the M litary Revolutionary Committee and put under the honorary guard of the splendid soldiers of two regiments. The same day *D n* (*D en* according to Reed s spelling) a liberal daily (bourgeo s) was closed for starting a campa gn of bait in of the Soviets On November 9 the printing plants of *Bir h vaya Vedomo t* and *Ogonka* were seized by Anarchists with the approval of the Committee But var ous papers particu larly tho e of the socialist part es continued to appear or to reappear On November 19 the Printers Un on sent a delegation to the Mil tary Revolution ry Committee to demand that the attacks on the freedom of the workers p e s should cease They de lared that the Bolshe iks were using violence to fo ce the people to re d journals of a single tendency thereby undermin g the Constitu nt Assembly They were willing to fight the bourgeois p ess themselves but thou ht that if the workers press wer free and stron it would not have to fear the bourgeois press e ther On December 1 all non Bolshevik papers except *Del N da* nd Gorky s *No aya Zh n* were closed for print ng n appe l f the Provis on l Governm nt wh ch still cla med to b the legitim te o e Once more the papers e pp ared w thin a f w d ys *On No emb 20 Lenin drafted* a decree declar ng advertising a monopoly of the governm nt and its official o gan The eupon a number of workers papers for the first time printed

Immediately on all sides there are cries that the new Socialist authority is in this violating the essential principles of its own *programme by an attempt against the freedom of the press*

The Workers and Peasants Government calls the attention of the population to the fact that in our country behind this liberal shield is hidden the opportunity for the wealthier classes to seize the lions share of the whole press and by this means to poison the popular mind and bring confusion into the consciousness of the masses

Every one knows that the bourgeois press is one of the most powerful weapons of the bourgeoisie Especially in this critical moment when the new authority of the workers and peasants is in process of consolidation it is impossible to leave it in the hands of the enemy at a time when it is not less dangerous than bombs and machine guns This is why temporary and extraordinary measures have been adopted for the purpose of stopping the flow of filth and calumny in which the yellow and green press would be glad to drown the young victory of the people

As soon as the new order is consolidated all administrative measures against the press will be suspended full liberty will be given it within the limits of responsibility before the law in accordance with the broadest and most progressive regulations.

Bearing in mind however the fact that any restrictions of the freedom of the press even in critical moments are admissible only within the bounds of necessity the Council of Peoples Commissars decrees as follows

1 The following classes of newspapers shall be subject to closure (a) Those inciting to open resistance or disobedience to the Workers and Peasants Government (b) Those creating confusion by obviously and deliberately perverting the news (c) Those inciting to acts of a criminal character punishable by the laws

2 The temporary or permanent closing of any organ of the press shall be carried out only by virtue of a resolution of the Council of Peoples Commissars

3 The present decree is of a temporary nature and will be revoked by a special *uka* when normal conditions of public life are re-established

President of the Council of Peoples Commissars
VLADIMIR ULIANOV (LENIN)

in Russia All who consented to strike against the Bolsheviki were paid full wages and in some cases their pay was increased It was the realisation of the strike fund contributors that the Bolsheviki were firmly in power followed by their refusal to pay strike benefits which finally broke the strike

advertisements in the name of freedom of the press These were closed down but reappeared upon agreeing not to print ads. On November 17 Lenin introduced a resolution pledging that after the government had seized all stocks of paper and all printing plants and made them a government monopoly it would permit their use by political parties and groups in proportion to the number of their adherents But when the Constituent Assembly elections proved that the Socialist Revolutionaries had the most adherents and should therefore have more newspapers than the Bolsheviks Lenin decided to forget his promise Socialist papers continued to play hide and seek with the government for some time Gorky s *Novaya Zhizn* was not suppressed until the summer of 1918 Some socialist journals particularly that of the Mensheviks managed to continue to appear underground at infrequent intervals in sparse editions until early in the twenties.—*Ed*

2 On Workers Militia

1 All Soviets of Workers and Soldiers Deputies shall form a Workers Militia

2 This Workers Militia shall be entirely at the orders of the Soviets of Workers and Soldiers Deputies

3 Military and civil authorities must render every assistance in arming the workers and in supplying them with technical equipment even to the extent of requisitioning arms belonging to the War Department of the Government.

4 This decree shall be promulgated by telegraph

Petrograd November 10 1917

People s Commissar of the Interior
A I RYKOV

This decree encouraged the formation of companies of Red Guards all over Russia, which became the most valuable arm of the Soviet Government in the ensuing civil war

3 The Strike Fund

The fund for the striking Government employees and bank clerks was subscribed by banks and business houses of Petrograd and other cities and also by foreign corporations doing business

yunkers and bloodily recaptured The Telephone Station was besieged by sailors who lay behind barricades of barrels boxes and tin sheets in the middle of the Morskaya or sheltered themselves at the corner of the Gorokhovaya and of St Isaac s Square shooting at anything that moved Occasionally an automobile passed in and out flying the Red Cross flag The sailors let it pass

Albert Rhys Williams was in the Telephone Exchange He went out with the Red Cross automobile which was ostensibly full of wounded After circulating about the city the car went by devious ways to the Mikhailovsky *yunker* school headquarters of the counter revolution A French officer in the court yard seemed to be in command By this means ammunition and supplies were conveyed to the Telephone Exchange Scores of these pretended ambulances acted as couriers and ammunition trains for the *yunkers*

Five or six armoured cars belonging to the disbanded British Armoured Car Division were in their hands As Louise Bryant was going along St Isaac s Square one came rolling up from the Admiralty on its way to the Telephone Exchange At the corner of the Gogolia right in front of her the engine stalled Some sailors ambushed behind wood piles began shooting The machine gun in the turret of the thing slewed around and spat a hail of bullets indiscriminately into the wood piles and the crowd In the archway where Miss Bryant stood seven people were shot dead among them two little boys Suddenly with a shout, the sailors leaped up and rushed into the flaming open closing around the monster they thrust their bayonets into the loop-holes again and again yelling The chauffeur pretended to be wounded and they let him go free—to run to the Duma and swell the tale

CHAPTER VIII

COUNTER-REVOLUTION

Next morning Sunday the 11th the Cossacks entered Tsarskoye Selo Kerensky[1] himself riding a white horse and all the church bells clamouring From the top of a little hill outside the town could be seen the golden spires and many coloured cupolas the sprawling grey immensity of the capital spread along the dreary plain and beyond the steely Gulf of Finland

There was no battle But Kerensky made a fatal blunder At seven in the morning he sent word to the Second Tsarskoye Selo Rifles to lay down their arms The soldiers replied that they would remain neutral but would not disarm Kerensky gave them ten minutes in which to obey This angered the soldiers for eight months they had been governing themselves by committee and this smacked of the old regime A few minutes later Cossack artillery opened fire on the barracks killing eight men *From that moment there were no more neutral soldiers in Tsarskoye*

Petrograd woke to bursts of rifle fire and the tramping thunder of men marching Under the high dark sky a cold wind smelt of snow At dawn the Military Hotel and the Telegraph Agency had been taken by larger forces of

ing and opened fire two armoured cars cruising back and forth with machine guns raking it The *yunkers* telephoned for help The Cossacks replied that they dare not come because a large body of sailors with two cannon com manded their barracks The Pavlovsk school was sur rounded Most of the Mikhailov *yunkers* were fighting in the streets

At half past eleven three field pieces arrived Another demand to surrender was met by the *yunkers* shooting down two of the Soviet delegates under the white flag Now began a real bombardment Great holes were torn in the walls of the school The *yunkers* defended themselves desperately shouting waves of Red Guards assaulting crumpled under the withering blast Kerensky tele phoned from Tsarskoye to refuse all parley with the Military Revolutionary Committee

Frenzied by defeat and their heaps of dead the Soviet troops opened a tornado of steel and flame against the battered building Their own officers could not stop the terrible bombardment A Commissar from Smolny named Kirilov tried to halt it he was threatened with lynching The Red Guards blood was up

At half past two the *yunkers* hoisted a white flag they would surrender if they were guaranteed protection This was promised With a rush and a shout thousands of soldiers and Red Guards poured through windows doors and holes in the wall Before it could be stopped five *yunkers* were beaten and stabbed to death The rest about two hundred were taken to Peter Paul under escort in small groups so as to avoid notice On the way a mob set upon one party killing eight more *yunkers* More than a hundred Red Guards and soldiers had fallen

Two hours later the Duma got a telephone message that the victors were marching toward the *Injinierny Zamok*

of Bolshevik atrocities Among the dead was a British officer *

Later the newspapers told of another French officer captured in a *yunker* armoured car and sent to Peter Paul The French Embassy promptly denied this but one of the City Councillors told me that he himself had procured the officer s release from prison

Whatever the official attitude of the Allied Embassies individual French and British officers were active these days even to the extent of giving advice at executive sessions of the Committee for Salvation

All day long in every quarter of the city there were skirmishes between *yunkers* and Red Guards battles be tween armoured cars Volleys single shots and the shrill chatter of machine guns could be heard far and near The iron shutters of the shops were drawn but business still went on Even the moving picture shows all outside lights dark played to crowded houses The street cars ran The telephones were all working when you called Central shooting could be plainly heard over the wire Smolny was cut off but the Duma and the Committee for Salvation were in constant communication with all the *yunker* schools and with Kerensky at Tsars koye

At seven in the morning the Vladimir *yunker* school was visited by a patrol of soldiers sailors and Red Guards who gave the *yunkers* twenty minutes to lay down their arms The ultimatum was rejected An hour later the *yunkers* got ready to march but were driven back by a violent fusillade from the corner of the Grebetskaya and the Bolshoy Prospekt Soviet troops surrounded the build

This st ry of F ench a d Brit sh officer d r cti g the m litary c det i the attack o the t lepho excha ge p esum bly h no mo e tr th i it than the story th t Ge ma offi er led the Red Gu d att ck on the Wint r Pal e Lo se Bry t wh m Re d cites s yewitness does not t l it in her count of the ep sode —*Ed*

just common workmen peasants "Dark People

The Commissar of the Military Revolutionary Com mitt e little Vishmak tried to persuade the girls to re main He was effusively polite You have been badly treated he said The telephone system is controlled by the Municipal Duma You are paid sixty rubles a month and have to work ten hours and more From now on all that will be changed The Government intends to put the telephones under control of the Ministry of Posts and Telegraphs Your wages will be immediately raised to one hundred and fifty rubles and your working hours reduced As members of the working class you should be happy——

Members of the *working-class* indeed! Did he mean to infer that there was anything in common between these —these animals—and *us*? Remain? Not if they offered a thousand rubles! Haughty and spiteful the girls left the place

The employees of the building the line men and labourers—they stayed But the switch boards must be operated—the telephone was vital Only half a dozen trained operators were available Volunteers were called for a hundred responded sailors soldiers workers The six girls scurried backward and forward instructin, helping scoldin, So crippled halting but *going* the wires slowly be,an to hum The first thing was to con nect Smolny with the barracks and the factories the s c ond to cut off the Duma and the *yunker* schools Late in the afternoon word of it spread through the city and hundreds of bourgeois called up to scream Fools! D vils! How lon, do you think you will last? Wait till the Co sacks come!

Dusk was already falling On the almost deserted Nevsky swept by a bitter wind a crowd had gath red

—the Engineers school A dozen members immediately set out to distribute among them armfuls of the latest proclamation of the Committee for Salvation Several did not come back All the other schools surrendered without resistance and the *yunkers* were sent unharmed to *Peter Paul* and *Cronstadt*

The Telephone Exchange held out until afternoon when a Bolshevik armoured car appeared, and the sailors stormed the place Shrieking the frightened telephone girls ran to and fro the *yunkers* tore from their uniforms *all distinguishing marks and one offered Williams any thing* for the loan of his overcoat as a disguise

They will massacre us! They will massacre us! they cried for many of them had given their word at the Winter Palace not to take up arms against the People Williams offered to mediate if Antonov were released This was immediately done Antonov and Williams made speeches to the victorious sailors inflamed by their many dead—and once more the *yunkers* went free All but a few who in their panic tried to flee over the roofs or to hide in the attic and were found and hurled into the street

Tired bloody triumphant the sailors and workers swarmed into the switchboard room and finding so many pretty girls fell back in an embarrassed way and fumbled with awkward feet Not a girl was injured not one insulted Frightened they huddled in the corners and *then finding themselves safe gave vent to their spite*

Ugh! The dirty ignorant people! The fools! The sailors and Red Guards were embarrassed Brutes! Pigs! shrilled the girls indignantly putting on their coats and hats Romantic had been their experience passing up cartridges and dressing the wounds of their dashing defenders the *yunkers* many of them members of noble families fighting to restore their beloved Tsar! These were

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before the Kazan Cathedral, continuing the endless debate a few workmen some soldiers and the rest shopkeepers clerks and the like

But Lenin won't get Germany to make peace! cried one

A violent young soldier replied *And whose fault is it?* Your damn Kerensky dirty bourgeois! To hell with Kerensky! We don't want him! We want Lenin

Outside the Duma an officer with a white arm band was tearing down posters from the wall, swearing loudly One read

To the Population of Petrograd!

At this dangerous hour when the Municipal Duma ought to use every means to calm the population to assure it bread and other necessities the Right Socialist Revolutionaries and the Cadets forgetting their duty have turned the Duma into a counter revolutionary meeting trying to raise part of the population against the rest so as to facilitate the victory of Kornilov Kerensky Instead of doing their duty the Right Socialist Revolutionaries and the Cadets have transformed the Duma into an arena of political attack upon the Soviets of Workers Soldiers and Peasants Deputies against the revolutionary Government of peace bread and liberty

Citizens of Petrograd we the Bolshevik Municipal Councillors elected by you—we want you to know that the Right Socialist Revolutionaries and the Cadets are engaged in counter revolutionary action have forgotten their duty and are leading the population to famine to civil war We elected by 183 000 votes consider it our duty to bring to the attention of our constituents what is going on in the Duma and declare that we disclaim all responsibility for the terrible but inevitable consequences

Far away still sounded occasional shots but the city lay quiet cold as if exhausted by the violent spasms which

In the Nicolai Hall the Duma session was coming to an end. Even the truculent Duma seemed a little stunned One after another the Commissars reported—capture of the Telephone Exchange street fighting the taking of the Vladimir school "The Duma said Trupp is on the side of the democracy in its struggle against arbitrary violence but in any case whichever side wins the Duma will always be against lynchings and torture

Konovski Cadet a tall old man with a cruel face When the troops of the legal Government arrive in Petrograd they will shoot down these insurgents and that will not be lynching! Protests all over the hall even from his own party

Here there was doubt and depression The counter revolution was being put down. The Central Committee of the Socialist Revolutionary party had voted lack of confidence in its officers the left wing was in control Avksentiev had resigned A courier reported that the Committee of Welcome sent to meet Kerensky at the rail way station had been arrested In the streets could be heard the dull rumble of distant cannonading south and southwest Still Kerensky did not come

Only three newspapers were out—*Pravda Dielo Naroda* and *Novaya Zhizn* All of them devoted much space to the new coalition Government The Socialist Revolutionary paper demanded a Cabinet without either Cadets or Bolsheviki Gorky was hopeful Smolny had made concessions A purely Socialist Government was taking shape—all elements except the bourgeoisie As for *Pravda* it sneered

We ridicule these coalitions with political parties whose most prominent members are petty journalists of doubtful reputation our "coalition is that of the proletariat and the revolutionary Army with the poor peasants

On the walls a vainglorious announcement of the *Vikzhel* threatening to strike if both sides did not compromise

The conquerors of these riots the saviours of the wreck of our country these will be neither the Bolsheviki nor the Committee for Salvation nor the troops of Kerensky—but we the Union of Railwaymen

Red Guards are incapable of handling a complicated business like the railways as for the Provisional Government, it has shown itself incapable of holding the power

We refuse to lend our services to any party which does not act by authority of a Government based on the confidence of all the democracy

Smolny thrilled with the boundless vitality of inexhaustible humanity in action

In Trade Union headquarters Lozovsky introduced me to a delegate of the Railway Workers of the Nicolai line who said that the men were holding huge mass meetings condemning the action of their leaders

All power to the Soviets! he cried pounding on the table The *oborontsi* in the Central Committee are playing Kornilov s game They tried to send a mission to the Stavka but we arrested them at Minsk Our branch has demanded an All Russian Convention and they refuse to call it

The same situation as in the Soviets the Army Committees One after another the various democratic organisations all over Russia were cracking and changing The Cooperatives were torn by internal struggles the meetings of the Peasants Executive broke up in stormy

wrangling even among the Cossacks there was trou ble

On the top floor the Military Revolutionary Committee was in full blast striking and slacking not Men went in fresh and vigorous night and day and night and day they threw themselves into the terrible machine and came out limp blind with fatigue hoarse and filthy to fall on the floor and sleep The Committee for Salvation had been outlawed Great piles of new proclamations littered the floor

The conspirators who have no support among the garrison or the working class above all counted on the sud denness of their attack Their plan was discovered in time by Sub-Lieutenant Blagonravov thanks to the revolutionary vigilance of a soldier of the Red Guard whose name shall be made public At the centre of the plot was the Committee for Salvation Colonel Polkovnikov was in command of their forces and the orders were signed by Gotz, former member of the Provisional Government allowed at liberty on his word of honour

Bringing these facts to the attention of the Petrograd population the Military Revolutionary Committee orders the arrest of all concerned in the conspiracy who shall be tried before the Revolutionary Tribunal

From Moscow word that the *yunkers* and Cossacks had surrounded the Kremlin and ordered the Soviet to lay down their arms The Soviet forces complied and as they were leaving the Kremlin were set upon and shot down Small forces of Bolsheviki had been driven from the Telephone and Telegraph offices the *yunkers* now held the centre of the city But all around them the Soviet troops were mustering Street fighting was slowly gather ing way all attempts at compromise had failed On

the side of the Soviet ten thousand garrison soldiers and a few Red Guards on the side of the Government six thousand *yunkers* twenty five hundred Cossacks and two thousand White Guards

The Petrograd Soviet was meeting and next door the new *Tsay ee kah* acting on the decrees and orders[3] which came down in a steady stream from the Council of People s Commissars in session upstairs on the Order in Which Laws Are to be Ratified and Published Establishing an Eight hour Day for Workers and Lunacharsky s Basis for a System of Popular Education Only a few hundred people were present at the two meetings most of them armed Smolny was almost deserted except for the guards who were busy at the hall windows setting up machine guns to command the flanks of the building

In the *Tsay ee kah* a delegate of the *Vikzhel* was speaking

We refuse to transport the troops of either party We have sent a committee to Kerensky to say that if he continues to march on Petrograd we will break his lines of communication

He made the usual plea for a conference of all the Socialist parties to form a new Government

Kamenev answered discreetly The Bolsheviki would be very glad to attend the conference The centre of gravity however lay not in composition of such a Government but in its acceptance of the programme of the Congress of Soviets The *Tsay ee kah* had deliberated on the declaration made by the Left Socialist Revolutionaries and the Social Democrats Internationalists and had accepted the proposition of proportional representation at the conference even including delegates from the Army Committees and the Peasants Soviets

In the great hall Trotsky recounted the events of the day

We offered the Vladimir *junkers* a chance to surrender he said We wanted to settle matters without bloodshed But now that blood has been spilled there is only *one* way—pitiless struggle It would be childish to think we can win by any other means The moment is decisive Everybody must cooperate with the Military Revolutionary Committee report where there are stores of barbed wire benzine * guns We've won the power now we must keep it!

The Menshevik Yoffe tried to read his party's declaration but Trotsky refused to allow a debate about principle

Our debates are now in the streets he cried 'The decisive step has been taken We all and I in particular take the responsibility for what is happening

Soldiers from the front from Gatchina told their stories One from the Death Battalion Four Hundred Eighty first Artillery When the trenches hear of this they will cry This is *our* Government! A *junker* from Peterhof said that he and two others had refused to march against the Soviets and when his comrades had returned from the defence of the Winter Palace they appointed him their Commissar to go to Smolny and offer their services to the *real* Revolution

Then Trotsky again fiery indefatigable giving orders answering questions

The petty bourgeoisie in order to defeat the workers soldiers and peasants would combine with the devil himself! he said once Many cases of drunkenness had been remarked the last two days No drinking comrades! No

* What the English call petrol and the Americans gasoline —*Ed*

one must be on the streets after eight in the evenin, ex cept the regular guards All places suspected of having stores of liquor should be searched and the liquor de stroyed [4] No mercy to the sellers of liquor

The Military Revolutionary Committee sent for the delegation from the Viborg section then for the members from Putilov They clumped out hurriedly

For each revolutionist killed said Trotsky we shall kill five counter revolutionists!

Down town again The Duma brilliantly illuminated and great crowds pouring in In the lower hall wailing and cries of grief the throng surged back and forth before the bulletinboard where was posted a list of *yunkers* killed in the day s fighting—or supposed to be killed for most of the dead afterward turned up safe and sound Up in the Alexander Hall the Committee for Salvation held forth The gold and red epaulettes of officers were con spicuous the familiar faces of the Menshevik and Socialist Revolutionary intellectuals the hard eyes and bulky magnificence of bankers and diplomats officials of the old regime and well dressed women

The telephone girls were testifying Girl after girl came to the tribune—over-dressed fashion aping little girls with pinched faces and leaky shoes Girl after girl flush ing with pleasure at the applause of the nice people of Petrograd of the officers the rich the great names of politics—girl after girl to narrate her sufferings at the hands of the proletariat and proclaim her loyalty to all that was old established and powerful

The Duma was again in session in the Nicolai Hall The Mayor said hopefully that the Petrograd regiments were ashamed of their actions propaganda was making headway Emissaries came and went reporting hor

ПРИКАЗЪ № 2

Отъ Комитета гв. Финляндскаго рез. полка всѣмъ домовымъ Комитетамъ и гражданамъ Васильевскаго Острова.

Буржуазія избрала подлый способъ борьбы съ пролетаріатомъ, она въ разныхъ частяхъ города устроила огромные винные склады и натравливаетъ на нихъ солдатъ, стараясь виномъ внести расколъ въ ряды Революціонной арміи.

Приказывается всѣмъ домовымъ Комитетамъ въ 3-хъ час. срокъ по расклейкѣ этого приказа сообщить лично и секретно объ имѣющихся у нихъ ЗАПАСАХЪ ВИНА Предсѣдат. Полк. Ком. гв. Финляндск. полка.

Лица, не исполнившія этого приказа, будутъ арестованы и преданы самому БЕЗПОЩАДНОМУ СУДУ, а ИМУЩЕСТВО ИХЪ будетъ КОНФИСКОВАНО, обнаруженные же запасы вина будутъ

ВЗРЫВАТЬСЯ ДИНАМИТОМЪ

черезъ 2 часа послѣ предупрежденія, ибо менѣе рѣшительныя мѣры, какъ намъ показалъ опытъ, не приводятъ къ желанной цѣли

Объявляемъ, что особыхъ предупрежденій передъ началомъ взрыва не будетъ

Полковой Комитетъ гв. Финляндскаго полка.

Revolutionary law and order A proclamation of the Finland Regiment, in December 191[illegible] an[illegible]o[illegible]n[illegible]ing desperate remedies [illegible] "[illegible] pogroms" For translation see Note 5

rible deeds by the Bolsheviki, interceding to save the *yunkers* busily investigating

The Bolsheviki said Trupp will be conquered by moral force and not by bayonets

Meanwhile all was not well on the revolutionary front The enemy had brought up armoured trains mounted with cannon The Soviet forces mostly raw Red Guards were without officers and without a definite plan Only five thousand regular soldiers had joined them the rest of the garrison was either busy suppressing the *yunker* revolt guarding the city or undecided what to do At ten in the evening Lenin addressed a meeting of delegates from the city regiments who voted overwhelmingly to fight A Committee of five soldiers was elected to serve as General Staff and in the small hours of the morning the regiments left their barracks in full battle array Going home I saw them pass swinging along with the regular tread of veterans bayonets in perfect alignment through the deserted streets of the conquered city

At the same time in the headquarters of the *Vikzhel* down on the Sadovaya the conference of all the Socialist parties to form a new Government was under way Abramovich for the centre Mensheviki said that there should be neither conquerors nor conquered—that bygones should be bygones In this were agreed all the left wing parties Dan speaking in the name of the right Mensheviki proposed to the Bolsheviki the following conditions for a truce The Red Guard to be disarmed and the Petrograd garrison to be placed at the orders of the Duma the troops of Kerensky not to fire a single shot or arrest a single man a Ministry of all the Socialist parties *except the Bolsheviki* For Smolny Riazanov and Kamenev declared that a coalition ministry of all parties was acceptable but protested at Dan s proposals The Socialist Revo-

lutionaries were divided but the Executive Committee of th Peasants Sovi ts and the Populist Socialists flatly re fused to admit the Bolsheviki After bitter quar relling a commission was el cted to draw up a workable plan

All that night the commission wrangled and all the next day and the next night Once before on the 9th of November there had been a similar effort at conciliation led by Martov and Gorky but at the approach of Kerensky and the activity of the Committee for Salvation the right wing of the Mensheviki Socialist Revolutionaries and Populist Socialists suddenly withdrew Now they were awed by the crushing of the *yunker* rebellion

Monday the 12th was a day of suspense The eyes of all Russia w re fixed on the grey plain beyond the gates of Petrograd where all the available strength of the old order faced the unorganised power of the new the un known In Moscow a truce had been declared both sides parleyed, awaiting the result in the capital Now the dele gates to the Congress of Soviets hurrying on speeding trains to the farthest reaches of Asia were coming to their homes carrying the fiery cross In wide spreading ripples news of the miracle spread over the face of the land and in its wake towns cities and far villages stirred and broke Soviets and Military Revolutionary Commit tees against Dumas Zemstvos and Government Commis-sars—Red Guards against White—street fighting and passionate speech. The results waited on the word from Petrograd.

Smolny was almost empty but the Duma was thronged and noisy The old Mayor in his dignified way was pro-testing against the Appeal of the Bolshevik Councillors

'The Duma is not a centre of counter revolution he

said warmly The Duma takes no part in the present struggle between the parties But at a time when there is no legal power in the land the only centre of order is the Municipal Self Government The peaceful population recognises this fact the foreign Embassies recognise only such documents as are signed by the Mayor of the town The mind of a European does not admit of any other situation as the Municipal Self Government is the only organ which is capable of protecting the interests of the citizens The City is bound to show hospitality to all organisations which desire to profit by such hospitality and therefore the Duma cannot prevent the distribution of any newspapers whatever within the Duma building The sphere of our work is increasing and we must be given full liberty of action and our rights must be respected by both parties

We are perfectly neutral When the Telephone Exchange was occupied by the *yunkers* Colonel Polkovnikov ordered the telephones to Smolny disconnected but I protested and the telephones were kept going

At this there was ironic laughter from the Bolshevik benches and imprecations from the right

And yet went on Schreider they look upon us as counter revolutionaries and report us to the population They deprive us of our means of transport by taking away our last motor cars It will not be our fault if there is famine in the town Protests are of no use

Kobozev Bolshevik member of the Town Board was doubtful whether the Military Revolutionary Committee had requisitioned the Municipal automobiles Even granting the fact it was probably done by some unauthorised individual in the emergency

The Mayor he continued tells us that we must not

make political meetin_gs out of the Duma But every Men shevik and Socialist Revolutionary here talks nothing but party propa anda and at the door they distribute their ille_gal newspapers *Iskri* (Sparks) *Slodatski Golos* and *Rabochaya Ca eta* inciting to insurrection What if we Bolsheviki should also begin to distribute our papers here? But this shall not be for we respect the Duma We have not attacked the Municipal Self Government and we shall not do so But you have addressed an Appeal to the popu lation and we are entitled also to do so

Followed him Shingariov Cadet who said that there could be no common language with those who were liable to be brou_ght before the Attorney General for indictment and who must be tried on the charge of treason He proposed again that all Bolshevik members should be expelled from the Duma This was tabled however for there were no personal charges against the members and they were active in the Municipal administration

Then two Mensheviki Internationalists declaring that the Appeal of the Bolshevik Councillors was a direct in ci ement to massacre If everything that is against the Bolsheviki is counter revolutionary said Pinkevich then I do not know the difference between revolution and anarchy The Bolsheviki are depending upon the passions of the unbridled masses we have nothing but moral force We will protest a_gainst massacres and violence from both sides as our task is to find a peaceful issue

Th notice posted in the streets under the headin_g "To the Pillory which calls upon the people to destroy the Mensheviki and Socialist Revolutionaries said Nazarev is a crime which you Bolsheviki will not be able to wash away Yesterday s horrors are but a preface to what you

are preparing by such a proclamation I have al ways tried to reconcile you with the other parties but at present I feel for you nothing but contempt!

The Bolshevik Councillors were on their feet shouting angrily assailed by hoarse hateful voices and waving arms

Outside the hall I ran into the City Engineer the Menshevik Gomberg and three or four reporters They were all in high spirits

See! they said The cowards are afraid of us They don t dare arrest the Duma! Their Military Revolutionary Committee doesn t dare to send a Commissar into this building Why on the corner of the Sadovaya to-day I saw a Red Guard try to stop a boy selling *Soldatski Golos* The boy just laughed at him and a crowd of people wanted to lynch the bandit It s only a few hours more now Even if Kerensky wouldn t come they haven t the men to run a Government Absurd! I understand they re even fighting among themselves at Smolny!

A Socialist Revolutionary friend of mine drew me aside I know where the Committee for Salvation is hid ing he said Do you want to go and talk with them?

By this time it was dusk The city had again settled down to normal—shop-shutters up lights shining and on the streets great crowds of people slowly moving up and down and arguing

At Number 86 Nevsky we went through a passage into a courtyard surrounded by tall apartment buildings At the door of apartment 229 my friend knocked in a peculiar way There was a sound of scuffling an inside door slammed then the front door opened a crack and a woman s face appeared After a minute s observation she led us in—a placid looking middle aged lady who at once cried Kyril it s all right! In the dining room where a

samovar steamed on the table and there were plates full of bread and raw fish a man in uniform emerged from behind the window curtains and another dressed like a workman from a closet They were delighted to meet an American reporter With a certain amount of gusto both said that they would certainly be shot if the Bolsheviki caught them They would not give me their names but both were Socialist Revolutionaries

Why I asked do you publish such lies in your n wspapers?

Without taking offence the officer replied Yes I know but what can we do? He shrugged You must admit that it is necessary for us to create a certain frame of mind in the people

The other man interrupted This is merely an adven ture on the part of the Bolsheviki They have no intel lectuals The Ministries won t work Russia is not a city but a whole country Realising that they can only last a few days we have decided to come to the aid of the strongest force opposed to them -Kerensky —and help to restore order

That is all very well I said But why do you com bine with the Cadets?

The pseudo-workman smiled frankly 'To tell you the truth at this moment the masses of the people are fol lowing the Bolsheviki We have no following—now We can t mobilise a handful of soldiers There are no arms available The Bolsheviki are right to a certain ex tent there are at this moment in Russia only two parties with any force—the Bolsheviki and th r actionaries who are all hiding under the coat tails of the Cadets The Cadets think they are using us but it is really we who are using th Cadets When we smash the Bolsheviki we shall turn against the Cadets "

Will the Bolsheviki be admitted into the new Government?

He scratched his head That s a problem he admitted Of course if they are not admitted they ll probably do this all over again At any rate they will have a chance to hold the balance of power in the Constituent—that is if there is a Constituent

And then too said the officer that brings up the question of admitting the Cadets into the new Government—and for the same reasons You know the Cadets do not really want the Constituent Assembly—not if the Bolsheviki can be destroyed now He shook his head It is not easy for us Russians politics You Americans are born politicians you have had politics all your lives But for us—well it has only been a year you know!

What do you think of Kerensky? I asked

Oh Kerensky is guilty of the sins of the Provisional Government answered the other man Kerensky himself forced us to accept coalition with the bourgeoisie If he had resigned as he threatened it would have meant a new Cabinet crisis only sixteen weeks before the Constituent Assembly and that we wanted to avoid

But didn t it amount to that anyway?

Yes but how were we to know? They tricked us—the Kerenskys and Avksentievs Gotz is a little more radical I stand with Chernov who is a real revolutionist Why only to day Lenin sent word that he would not object to Chernov entering the Government

We wanted to get rid of the Kerensky Government too but we thought it better to wait for the Constituent

At the beginning of this affair I was with the Bolsheviki but the Central Committee of my party voted unanimously against it—and what could I do? It was a matter of party discipline

In a week the Bolshevik Government will go to pieces if the Socialist Revolutionaries could only stand aside and wait the Government would fall into their hands But if we wait a week the country will be so disorganised that the German imperialists will be victorious That is why we began our revolt with only two regiments of soldiers promising to support us—and they turned against us That left only the yunkers

How about the Cossacks?

The officer sighed 'They did not move At first they said they would come out if they had infantry support They said moreover that they had their men with Kerensky and that they were doing their part Then too they said that the Cossacks were always accused of being the hereditary enemies of democracy And finally 'The Bolsheviki promise that they will not take away our land There is no danger to us We remain neutral

During this talk people were constantly entering and leaving —most of them officers their shoulder straps torn off We could see them in the hall and hear their low vehement voices Occasionally through the half-drawn portieres we caught a glimpse of a door opening into a bath room where a heavily built officer in a colonel s uniform sat on the toilet writing something on a pad held in his lap I recognised Colonel Polkovnikov former commandant of Petrograd for whose arrest the Military Revolutionary Committee would have paid a fortune

Our programme? said the officer 'This is it Land to be turned over to the Land Committees Workmen to have full representation in the control of industry An energetic peace programme but not an ultimatum to the world such as the Bolsheviki issued The Bolsheviki cannot keep their promises to the masses even to the country itself We won t l t them They stole our land

programme in order to get the support of the peasants That is dishonest If they had waited for the Constituent Assembly——

It doesn t matter about the Constituent Assembly! broke in the officer If the Bolsheviki want to establish a Socialist state here, we cannot work with them in any event! Kerensky made the great mistake He let the Bolsheviki know what he was going to do by announcing in the Council of the Republic that he had ordered their arrest

But what I said do you intend to do now?

The two men looked at one another You will see in a few days If there are enough troops from the front on our side we shall not compromise with the Bolsheviki If not perhaps we shall be forced to

Out again on the Nevsky we swung on the step of a streetcar bulging with people its platforms bent down from the weight and scraping along the ground which crawled with agonising slowness the long miles to Smolny

Meshkovsky a neat frail little man was coming down the hall looking worried The strikes in the Ministries he told us were having their effect For instance the Council of People s Commissars had promised to publish the Secret Treaties but Neratov the functionary in charge had disappeared taking the documents with him They were supposed to be hidden in the British Embassy

Worst of all however was the strike in the banks Without money said Menshinsky we are helpless The wages of the railroad men of the postal and telegraph employees must be paid The banks are closed and *the key to the situation the State Bank is also* shut All the bank clerks in Russia have been bribed to stop work

But Lenin has issued an order to dynamite the State

Bank vaults and there is a Decree just out ordering the private banks to open to-morrow or we will open them ourselves!

The Petrograd Soviet was in full swing thronged with armed men Trotsky reporting

The Cossacks are falling back from Krasnoye Selo (Sharp exultant cheering) But the battle is only beginning At Pulkovo heavy fighting is going on All available forces must be hurried there

From Moscow bad news The Kremlin is in the hands of the *yunkers* and the workers have only a few arms The result depends upon Petrograd

At the front the decrees on Peace and Land are provoking great enthusiasm Kerensky is flooding the trenches with tales of Petrograd burning and bloody of women and children massacred by the Bolsheviki But no one believes him

The cruisers *Oleg Avrora* and *Respublica* are anchored in the Neva their guns trained on the approaches to the city

Why aren t you out there with the Red Guards? shouted a rough voice

I m going now! answered Trotsky and left the platform His face a little paler than usual he passed down th side of the room surrounded by eager friends and hurried out to the waiting automobile

Kamenev now spoke describing the proceedings of the reconciliation conference The armistice conditions proposed by the Mensheviki he said had been contemptuously rejected Even the branches of the Railwaymen s Union had voted against such a proposition

Now that we ve won the power and are sweeping all Russia, he declared all they ask of us are three little things 1 To surrender the power 2 To make the

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it by the force of the Cossacks Both plans met a pitiful de feat.

The grand idea of the domination of the worker and peas ant democracy closed the ranks of the army and hardened its will. All the country from now on will be convinced that the Power of the Soviets is no ephemeral thing but an invincible fact. The repulse of Kerensky is the repulse of the land owners the bourgeoisie and the Kornilovists in general The repulse of Kerensky is the confirmation of the right of the people to a peaceful free life to land bread and power The Pulkovo detachment by its valorous blow has strengthened the cause of the Workers and Peasants Revolution There is no return to the past Before us are struggles obstacles and sacrifices But the road is clear and victory is certain

Revolutionary Russia and the Soviet Power can be proud of their Pulkovo detachment acting under the command of Colonel Walden Eternal memory to those who fell! Glory to the warriors of the Revolution the soldiers and the officers who were faithful to the People!

Long live revolutionary popular Socialist Russia!

In the name of the Council

L. TROTSKY People s Commissar

Driving home across Znamensky Square we made out an unusual crowd in front of the Nicolai Railway Station Several thousand sailors were massed there bristling with rifles

Standing on the steps a member of the *Vikzhel* was pleading with them

Comrades we cannot carry you to Moscow We are neutral We do not carry troops for either side We cannot take you to Moscow where already there is terrible civil war

All the seething Square roared at him the sailors began

soldiers continue the war 3 To make the peasants forget about the land

Lenin appeared for a moment to answer the accusations of the Socialist Revolutionaries

They charge us with stealing their land programme If that is so, we bow to them It is good enough for us

So the meeting roared on leader after leader explaining exhorting arguing soldier after soldier workman after workman standing up to speak his mind and his heart The audience flowed changing and renewed continually From time to time men came in yelling for the members of such and such a detachment to go to the front others relieved wounded or coming to Smolny for arms and equipment poured in

It was almost three o clock in the morning when as we left the hall Holtzman of the Military Revolutionary Committee came running down the hall with a transfigured face

It s all right! he shouted grabbing my hands Telegram from the front Kerensky is smashed! Look at this!

He held out a sheet of paper scribbled hurriedly in pencil and then seeing we couldn t read it he declaimed aloud

Pulkovo Staff 2 10 A M

The night of October 30th to 31st will go down in history The attempt of Kerensky to move counter revolutionary troops against the capital of the Revolution has been decisively repulsed Kerensky is retreating we are advancing The soldiers sailors and workers of Petrograd have shown that they can and will with arms in their hands enforce the will and authority of the democracy The bourgeoisie tried to isolate the revolutionary army Kerensky attempted to break

In the meanwhile delegations continued to arrive from Petro-ad from the Duma the Committee for Salvation and last of from the V kzhel The Union of Railway Workers insisted at some agreement be reached to halt the civil war and de anded that Kerensky treat with the Bolsheviki and that he stop he advance on Petrograd In case of refusal the V ikzhel threat ned a general strike at midnight of November 11th

Kerensky asked to be allowed to discuss the matter with the Socialist Ministers and with the Committee for Salvation He was plainly undecided.

On the 11th Cossack outposts reached Krasnoye Selo from which the local Soviet and the heterogeneous forces of the Mili tary Revolutionary Committee precipitately retired some of them *surrendering* That night they also touched Pulkovo where the first real res stance was encountered

Cossacks deserters began to dribble into Petrograd declaring that Kerensky had lied to them that he had spread broadcast over the front proclamations which said that Petrograd was burn ng that the Bolsheviki had invited the Germans to come in and that they were murdering women and children and looting indis crim nately

The M litary Revolutionary Committee immediately sent out some dozens of agitators with thousands of *printed appeals* to inform the Cossacks of the real situation.

2 Proclamations of the Military Revolutionary Comm ttee

"To All Soviets of Workers Soldiers and Peasants Deputies

"The All Russ an Congress of Soviets of Workers Soldiers and Peas ts Deputies charges th local Soviets immediately to take the most energet c measures to oppose all counter revolution ary anti Semitic disturbances and all *pogroms* of whate er nature The honour of the workers peasants and sold ers Revolution can not tole ate any disorders.

"The Red Guard of Petrograd, the revolutionary garrison and the sailors ha e maintained complete order in the capital

Workers soldiers, and peasants everywhere you should fol low the example of the workers and soldiers of Petrograd

Comrades soldiers and Cossacks on us falls the duty of keepin real rev lut onary order

to surge forward Suddenly another door was flung wide in it stood two or three brakemen a fireman or so

This way comrades! cried one We will take you to Moscow—or Vladivostok if you like! Long live the Revolution!

NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII

1 Kerensky s Advance

On November 9th Kerensky and his Cossacks arrived at Gatchina where the garrison hopelessly split into two factions immediately surrendered The members of the Gatchina Soviet were arrested and at first threatened with death later they were released on good behaviour

The Cossack advance guards practically unopposed occupied Pavlovsk Alexandrovsk and other stations and reached the outskirts of Tsarskoye Selo next morning November 10th At once the garrison divided into three groups—the officers loyal to Kerensky part of the soldiers and non-commissioned officers who declared themselves neutral and most of the rank and file who were for the Bolsheviki The Bolshevik soldiers who were without leaders or organisation fell back toward the capital The local Soviet also withdrew to the village of Pulkovo

From Pulkovo six members of the Tsarskoye Selo Soviet went with an automobile load of proclamations to Gatchina to propagandise the Cossacks They spent most of the day going around Gatchina from one Cossack barracks to another pleading arguing and explaining Toward evening some officers discovered their presence and they were arrested and brought before General Krasnov who said You fought against Kornilov now you are opposing Kerensky I ll have you all shot!"

After reading aloud to them the order appointing him commander in chief of the Petrograd District Krasnov asked if they were Bolsheviki *They replied in the affirmative—upon which* Krasnov went away a short time later an officer came and set them free saying that it was by order of General Krasnov

In the meanwhile delegations continued to arrive from Petrograd from the Duma the Committee for Salvation and last of all, from the *Vikzhel* The Union of Railway Workers insisted that some agreement be reached to halt the civil war and demanded that Kerensky treat with the Bolsheviki and that he stop the advance on Petrograd In case of refusal the *Vikzhel* threatened a general strike at midnight of November 11th

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On the 11th Cossack outposts reached Krasnoye Selo from which the local Soviet and the heterogeneous forces of the Military Revolutionary Committee precipitately retired some of them surrendering That night they also touched Pulkovo where the first real resistance was encountered

Cossacks deserters began to dribble into Petrograd declaring that Kerensky had lied to them that he had spread broadcast over the front proclamations which said that Petrograd was burning that the Bolsheviki had invited the Germans to come in and that they were murdering women and children and looting indiscriminately

The Military Revolutionary Committee immediately sent out some dozens of agitators with thousands of printed appeals to inform the Cossacks of the real situation.

2 Proclamations of the Military Revolutionary Committee

"To All Soviets of Workers Soldiers and Peasants Deputies

"The All Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers Soldiers and Peasants Deputies charges the local Soviets immediately to take the most energetic measures to oppose all counter revolutionary anti Semitic disturbances and all *pogroms* of whatever nature The honour of the workers peasants and soldiers Revolution cannot tolerate any disorders.

"The Red Guard of Petrograd the revolutionary garrison and the sailors have maintained complete order in the capital

"Workers soldiers and peasants everywhere you should follow the example of the workers and soldiers of Petrograd

Comrades soldiers and Cossacks on us falls the duty of keeping real revolutionary *order*

All revolutionary Russia and the whole world have their eyes on you "

* * * *

"The All Russian Congress of Soviets decrees

"To abolish capital punishment at the Front which was reintroduced by Kerensky

Complete freedom of propaganda is to be re established in the country All soldiers and revolutionary officers now under arrest for so-called political crimes are at once to be set free

* * * *

"The ex Premier Kerensky overthrown by the people refuses to submit to the Congress of Soviets and attempts to struggle against the legal Government elected by the All Russian Congress—the Council of People s Commissars The Front has refused to aid Kerensky Moscow has rallied to the new Government In many cities (Minsk Moghilev Kharkov) the power is in the hands of the Soviets No infantry detachment consents to march against the Workers and Peasants Government which in accord with the firm will of the Army and the people has begun peace negotiations and has given the land to the peasants

"We give public warning that if the Cossacks do not halt Kerensky who has deceived them and is leading them against Petrograd the revolutionary forces will rise with all their might for the defence of the precious conquests of the Revolution—Peace and Land

"Citizens of Petrograd! Kerensky fled from the city abandoning the authority to Kishkin who wanted to surrender the capital to the Germans Rutenburg of the Black Band who sabotaged the Municipal Food Supply and Paltchinsky hated by the whole democracy Kerensky has fled abandoning you to the Germans to famine to bloody massacres The revolting people have arrested Kerensky s Ministers and you have seen how the order and supplying of Petrograd at once improved Kerensky at the demand of the aristocrat proprietors the capitalists speculators marches against you for the purpose of giving back the land to the land owners and continuing the hated and ruinous war

"Citizens of Petrograd! We know that the great majority of you are in favour of the people s revolutionary authority against the Kornilovtsi led by Kerensky Do not be deceived by the lying

declarations of the impotent bourgeois conspirators who will be pitilessly crushed

Workers soldiers peasants We call upon you for revolutionary devot on and discipline

Millions of peasants and soldiers are with us

"The victory of the people s Revolut on is assured!"

3 Acts of the Council of People s Commissars

In th s book I am gi in only such decrees as are in my opinion pertinent to the Bolshev k conquest of power The rest belong to a deta'led ccount of the Structure of the Soviet State for which I ha e no place in th s work. Th s will be dealt with very fully in the second volume now in preparation Kornilov to Brest Litovsk.

Co n e D ll ng Pl ces

1 The independent Municipal Self-Governments have the right to oue t te all unoccup ed or uninhab ted dwelling places

2 The Munic palit es may according to laws and arrangements est bli hed by them install in all ava lable lodeings citizens who h e no place to li e or who live in con ested or unhealthy lodg ings

3 The Munic pal ties may establ sh a service of inspection of d ell ng places organ se it and define its powers

4 The M nicipal ties m y issue orders on the institution of Hou e Committees defi e their organisation their powers and give them jurid c l autho ity

5 The Municipal ties m y create Hous ng Tr'bunals define their powers and their a thority

6 Th s decree is p omulgated by telegraph

Peopl Commi sar of the Interio

A. I RYKOV

O Soc l I n

The Russ an p oletariat has inscribed on its banners the promise of complete Social I surance of w ge worke s as well as of the town and village poor The Go ernment of the Tsar the proprietors and the c pitalists as well as the Go er ment of coalition

and conciliation failed to realise the desires of the workers with regard to Social Insurance

The Workers and Peasants Government relying upon the support of the Soviets of Workers Soldiers and Peasants Deputies announces to the working-class of Russia and to the town and village poor that it will immediately prepare laws on Social Insurance based on the formulas proposed by the Labour organisations

1 Insurance for all wage workers without exception as well as for all urban and rural poor

2 Insurance to cover all categories of loss of working capacity such as illness infirmities old age childbirth widowhood orphanage and unemployment.

3 All the costs of insurance to be charged to employers

4 Compensation of at least full wages in all loss of working capacity and unemployment

5 Complete workers self government of all Insurance institutions

In the name of the Government of the Russian Republic

The People s Commissar of Labour

ALEXANDER SHLIAPNIKOV

On Popular Education

Citizens of Russia!

With the insurrection of November 7th the working masses have won for the first time the real power

The All Russian Congress of Soviets has temporarily transferred this power both to its Executive Committee and to the Council of People s Commissars

By the will of the revolutionary people I have been appointed People s Commissar of Education

The work of guiding in general the people s education inasmuch as it remains with the central government is until the Constituent Assembly meets entrusted to a Commission on the People s Education whose chairman and executive is the People s Commissar

Upon what fundamental propositions will rest this State Commission? How is its sphere of competence determined?

The General Line of Educational Activity Every genuinely democratic power must in the domain of education in a country where illiteracy and ignorance reign supreme make its first aim

the stru le against this darkness It must acquire in the shortest time u i ers l l teracy by organising a network of schools answer ing to the demands of modern pedagogics it must introduce uni versal obligatory and free tuition for all and establish at the same time a series of such teachers institutes and seminaries as will in the sho test time furnish a powerful army of people s teach ers so necessary for the universal instruction of the population of our boundless Russia

Dece tral sat o The State Comm ssion on People s Education is by no means a central power governing the institut ons of in struction and education On the contrary the entire school work ought to be transferred to the organs of local self government. The independent work of the workers soldiers and peasants establish ing on their own in tiative cultural educational organisations must be given full autonomy both by the State centre and the Mun cipal centres

The work of the State Commission serves as a link and helpmate to o gani e resources of material and moral support to the Munici pal and private institutions particularly to those with a class character established by the workers

The St te Committee on People's Ed cation. A whole series of in aluable law projects was elaborated from the beginning of the Re olution by the State Committee for People s Education a tol r bly democratic body as to its composition and rich in ex perts The State Commission sincerely desires the collaboration of th s Committee

It has ddressed itself to the bureau of the Committee with the quest at once to onvoke an extraordinary session of the Com m tt e for th fulfilment of the following programme

1 The re ision f rules of repre ent tion in the Committee in th se se of greater democratisat on

2 The revis on of the Committee s rights in the sense of widen g them and of converting the Committee into a fundamental Stat n t tute for the elaboration of law projects calculated to reo ganise p bl c instruction and education in Russia upon demo- c tic principles

3 The rev sion jointly with the new State Commission of the l ws al eady creat d by the Committee a revision required by the f ct that ed ti g them the Comm ttee had to take into account th bourg o s spirit of previous Ministries which obstructed it en this its narrowed form

After this revision these laws will be put into effect without any bureaucratic red tape in the revolutionary order

The Pedagogues and the Societists The State Commission welcomes the pedagogues to the bright and honourable work of educating the people—the masters of the country

No one measure in the domain of the people s education ought to be adopted by any power without the attentive deliberation of those who represent the pedagogues

On the other hand a decision cannot by any means be reached exclusively through the cooperation of specialists This refers as well to reforms of the institutes of general education

The cooperation of the pedagogues with the social forces—this is how the Commission will work both in its own constitution in the State Committee and in all its activities

As its first task the Commission considers the improvement of the teachers status and first of all of those very poor though almost most important contributors to the work of culture—the elementary school teachers Their just demands ought to be satisfied at once and at any cost *The proletariat of the schools* has in vain demanded an increase of salary to one hundred rubles per month It would be a disgrace any longer to keep in poverty the teachers of the overwhelming majority of the Russian people

But a real democracy cannot stop at mere literacy at universal elementary instruction It must endeavour to organise a uniform secular school of several grades The ideal is equal and if possible higher education for all the citizens So long as this idea has not been realised for all the natural transition through all the school grades up to the university—a transition to a higher stage—must depend entirely upon the pupil s aptitude and not upon the resources of his family

The problem of a genuinely democratic organisation of instruc*tion is particularly difficult in a country impoverished* by a long criminal imperialistic war but the workers who have taken the power must remember that edu ation will serve them as the greatest instrument in their struggle for a better lot and for a spiritual growth However needful it may be to curtail other articles of the people s budget the expenses on education must stand high A large educational budget is the pride and glory of a nation The free and enfranchised peoples of Russia will not forget this

The fight against illiteracy and ignorance cannot be confined to a thorough establishment of *school education for children* and

uths Adults too will be anxious to save themselves from the bas n position of a man who cannot read and write The school r adults must occupy a conspicuous place in the general plan of opular instruct on

Inst uct on nd Educat on One must emphasi.e the difference et een nstruction and education

Instruction is the transmiss on of ready knowledge by the eacher to his pup l Educat on is a creati e process The per onal ty of the individual is being educated throughout life is being formed grows richer in content stronger and more perfect

The to ling masse of the people—the workmen the peasants the soldiers—are thirsting for elementary and advanced instruc t on But they are also thirst n for education Neither the govern ment nor the intellectuals nor any other power outside of them selves can gi e it to them The school the book the theatre the museum etc. m y here be only aids They have their own ideas formed by their social position so d fferent from the position of those ruling classes and intellectuals who have hitherto created culture They h e their own ideas their own emotions the r own ways of approa hi g the problems of personality and society The city labourer ccording to hi own fashion the rural to ler accord ing to his will each build his clear world-conception permeated w th the cl ss id a f the workers There is no more superb or be ut ful phen menon than the one of wh ch our nearest descend ants w ll b both witnesses and parti ipant The build ng by col lective Labour of ts own general rich a d free soul

I t uct on will urely be an importa t but not a decisive ele ment What is more mportant here is the critic sm th creative n s of the mas es th msel es for cience a d art have only in me f their parts general human importance They suffer rad c l chan s w th e ery far re hing class uphea l

Ti ugho t Ru s particula ly am ng th c ty labourers but lso amo g the pea nts a powerful wa e of cultural educational movem nt h s ari en wo kers nd soldi rs organisations of thi k d r m uplying ap dly To me t them to lend them support t l a the r ad bef them is the *first task of a revol* tionary a d popular go ernme t n th doma n of democr ti educ t on

The C nst tu t A sembl w ll doubtless soon be *in i s work It* alo e c n permane tly establ sh the order of national and soc al l fe n country and at the ame t me the general ch acter of the org n sat on of popular edu ation

Now however with the passage of power to the Soviets the really democratic character of the Constituent Assembly is assured The line which the State Commission relying upon the State Committee will follow will hardly suffer any modification under the influence of the Constituent Assembly Without pre determining it, the new People s Government considers itself within its rights in enacting in this domain a series of measures which aim at enriching and enlightening as soon as possible the spiritual life of the country

The Ministry The present work must in the interim proceed through the Ministry of the People s Education Of all the necessary alterations in its composition and construction the State Commission will have charge elected by the Executive Committee of the Soviets and the State Committee Of course the order of State authority in the domain of the people s education will be established by the Constituent Assembly Until then the Ministry must play the part of the executive apparatus for both the State Committee and the State Commission for People s Education.

The pledge of the country s safety lies in the cooperation of all its vital and genuinely democratic forces

We believe that the energetic effort of the working people and of the honest enlightened intellectuals will lead the country out of its painful crisis and through compl te democracy to the reign of Socialism and the brotherhood of nations

People s Commissar on Education
A V LUNACHARSKY

* * *

On the Order in Which the Laws Are to be Ratified and Published

1 Until the convocation of the Constituent Assembly the enacting and publishing of laws shall be carried out in the order decreed by the present Provisional Workmen s and Peasants Government elected by the All Russian Congress of Workers Peasants and Soldiers Deputies

2 Every bill is presented for consideration of the Government by the respective Ministry signed by the duly authorised People s Commissar or it is presented by the legislative section attached to the Government signed by the chief of the section

3 After its ratification by the Government the decree in its final

ed tion, in the name of the Russian Republ c is signed by the president of the Council of People s Commissars or for him by the People s Commissar who presented it for the consideration of the Go ernment and is then publ shed

4 The date of publishing it in the official Gazette of the Pro-vis onal Workmen s and Peasants Government," is the date of its becoming law

5 In the decree there may be appointed a date other than the date of publ cation on which it shall become law or it may be promulgat d by telegraph in which case it is to be regarded in every locality as becoming law upon the publication of the tele gram

6 The promulgation of legislative acts of the government by the State Senate is abolished The Leg slative Section attached to the Council of People s Commissars issues periodically a collection of regulations and orders of the government which possess the force of law

7 The Central Executive Committee of the Soviets of Workers Peasants and Soldiers Deputies (*Tsay-ee kah*) has at all t mes the right to cancel alter or annul any of the Government decrees

I the ame of the Ru sian Rep bl c the President of the Coun c l of People's Comm ssars

V ULIANOV LENIN

4 The Liq or Probl m

O d f s ed by th M l tary Re lut on ry Comm ttee

1 Until further order the production of alcohol and alcoholic drinks is prohibited.

2 It is ordered to all producers of alcohol and alcoholic drinks to nform not later than on the 27th inst. of th exact s te of their stores

3 All culprits against this order will be tried by a Military Revolutionary Court.

THE MILITARY REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE

Other anxiou d scussions d d rs on th liquor p obl m re h wn in h Minutes d R soluti ns f th Military R lutionary Comm tt f N be 19 N mbe 27 De mbe 2 7 8 11 d 12 R port n th m tt w d l vered t the Comm tt by Dzerzhinski Lu h rsk d G lki How m y um be m w d cussed in th VT k a d h Council of C mm ssars ca ot w be blished b t T otsky work h w th h ddressed th Soviet this probl m on N embe 11 (fou d ys after the pris g) d g m on Decembe 2.—Ed

5 **Order No 2**

From the Committee of the Finland Guard Reserve Regiment to all House Committees and to the citizens of Vasili Ostrov

The bourgeoisie has chosen a very sinister method of fighting the proletariat it has established in various parts of the city huge wine depots and distributes liquor among the soldiers in this manner attempting to sow dissatisfaction in the ranks of the Revolutionary army

It is herewith ordered to all house committees that at 3 o clock the time set for posting this order they shall in person and secretly notify the President of the Committee of the Finland Guard Regiment concerning the amount of wine in their premises

Those who violate this order will be arrested and given trial before a merciless court and their property will be confiscated, and the stock of wine discovered will be

BLOWN UP WITH DYNAMITE

2 hours after this warning

because more lenient measures as experience has shown do not bring the desired results

REMEMBER THERE WILL BE NO OTHER WARNING BEFORE THE EXPLOSIONS

Regimental Committee of the Finland Guard Regiment

CHAPTER IX

VICTORY

Order Number I

To the Troops of the Pulkovo Detachment

November 13 1917 38 minutes past 9 a m

After a cruel fight the troops of the Pulkovo detachment completely routed the counter revolutionary forces who retreated from their positions in disorder and under cover of Tsarskoye Selo fell back toward Pavlovsk II and Gatchina

Our advanced units occupied the northeastern extremity of Tsarskoye Selo and the station Alexandrovskaya The Colpino detachment was on our left the Krasnoye Selo detachment to our right

I ordered the Pulkovo forces to occupy Tsarskoye Selo to fortify its approaches especially on the side of Gatchina

Also to pass and occupy Pavlocskoye fortifying its southern side and to take up the railroad as far as Dno

The troops must take all measures to strengthen the positions occupied by them arranging trenches and other defensive works

They must enter into close liaison with the detachments of Colpino and Krasnoye Selo and also with the Staff of the Commander in Chief for the Defence of Petrograd

Signed

Commander in Chief over all Forces acting against the Counter revolutionary Troops of Kerensky

Lieutenant-Colonel MURAVIOV

Tuesday morning But how is this? Only two days ago the Petrograd campagna was full of leaderless bands wandering aimlessly without food without artillery without a plan What had fused that disorganised mass of undisciplined Red Guards and soldiers without officers into an army obedient to its own elected high command tempered to meet and break the assault of cannon and Cossack cavalry? [1]

People in revolt have a way of defying military precedent The ragged armies of the French Revolution are not forgotten—Valmy and the Lines of Weissembourg Massed against the Soviet forces were *yunkers* Cossacks landowners nobility Black Hundreds—the Tsar come again *Okhrana* and Siberian chains and the vast and terrible menace of the Germans Victory in the words of Carlyle meant Apotheosis and Millennium without end!

Sunday night, the Commissars of the Military Revolutionary Committee returning desperately from the field the garrison of Petrograd elected its Committee of five its Battle Staff three soldiers and two officers all certified free from counter revolutionary taint Colonel Muraviov ex patriot was in command—an efficient man but to be carefully watched At Colpino at Obukhovo at Pulkovo and Krasnoye Selo were formed provisional detachments increased in size as the stragglers came in from the surrounding country—mixed soldiers sailors and Red Guards parts of regiments infantry cavalry and artillery all together and a few armoured cars

Day broke and the pickets of Kerensky s Cossacks came in touch Scattered rifle fire summons to surrender Over the bleak plain on the cold quiet air spread the sound of battle falling upon the ears of roving bands as they gathered about their little fires waiting So it

was beginning! They made toward the battle and the worker hordes pouring out along the straight roads quickened their pace Thus upon all the points of attack automatically converged angry human swarms to be met by Commissars and assigned positions or work to do This was *their* battle for *their* world the officers in command were elected by *them* For the moment that incoherent multiple will was one will

Those who participated in the fighting described to me how the sailors fought until they ran out of cartridges and then stormed how the untrained workmen rushed the charging Cossacks and tore them from their horses how the anonymous hordes of the people gathering in the darkness around the battle rose like a tide and poured over the enemy Before midnight of Monday the Cossacks broke and were fleeing leaving their artillery behind them and the army of the proletariat, on a long ragged front moved forward and rolled into Tsarskoye before the enemy had a chance to destroy the great Government wireless station from which now the Commissars of Smolny were hurling out to the world paeans of triumph. [2]

To all Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies

The 12th of November in a bloody combat near Tsarskoye Selo the revolutionary army defeated the counter revolutionary troops of Kerensky and Kornilov In the name of the Revolutionary Government I order all regiments to take the offensive against the enemies of the revolutionary democracy and to take all measures to arrest Kerensky and also to oppose any adventure which might menace the conquests of the Revolution and the victory of the proletariat

Long live the Revolutionary Army!

MURAVIOV

News from the provinces

At Sevastopol the local Soviet had assumed the power a huge meeting of the sailors on the battleships in the harbour had forced their officers to line up and swear allegiance *to the new Government* At Nizhni Novgorod the Soviet was in control From Kazan came reports of a battle in the streets *yunkers* and a brigade of artillery against the Bolshevik garrison

Desperate fighting had broken out again in Moscow The *yunkers* and White Guards held the Kremlin and the centre of the town beaten upon from all sides by the troops of the Military Revolutionary Committee The Soviet artillery was stationed in Skobelev Square bombarding the City Duma building the Prefecture and the *Hotel Metropole* The cobblestones of the Tverskaya and Nikitskaya had been torn up for trenches and barricades A hail of machine gun fire swept the quarters of the great banks and commercial houses There were no lights no telephones the bourgeois population lived in the cellars

The last bulletin said that the Military Revolutionary Committee had delivered an ultimatum to the Committee of Public Safety demanding the immediate surrender of the Kremlin or bombardment would follow

Bombard the Kremlin? cried the ordinary citizen They dare not!

From Vologda to Chita in far Siberia from Pskov to Sevastopol on the Black Sea in great cities and little villages civil war burst into flame From thousands of factories peasant communes regiments and armies ships on the wide sea greetings poured into Petrograd—greetings to the Government of the People

The Cossack Government at Novocherkask telegraphed to Kerensky *The Government of the Cossack troops invites the Provisional Government and the members of the*

Council of the Republic to come if possible to Novocher kask where we can organise in common the struggle against the Bolsheviki

In Finland also things were stirring The Soviet of Helsin fors and the *Tsentrobalt* (Central Committee of the Baltic Fleet) jointly proclaimed a state of siege and declared that all attempts to interfere with the Bolshevik forces and all armed resistance to its orders would be severely repressed At the same time the Finnish Railway Union called a country wide general strike to put into operation the laws passed by the Socialist Diet of June 1917 dissolved by Kerensky

Early in the morning I went out to Smolny Going up the long wooden sidewalk from the outer gate I saw the first thin hesitating snow flakes fluttering down from the grey windless sky Snow! cried the soldier at the door grinning with delight Good for the health! Inside the long gloomy halls and bleak rooms seemed deserted No one moved in all the enormous pile A deep uneasy sound came to my ears and looking around I noticed that everywhere on the floor along the walls men were sleeping Rough dirty men workers and soldiers spattered and caked with mud sprawled alone or in heaps in the careless attitudes of death Some wore ragged bandages marked with blood Guns and cartridge belts were scat tered about The victorious proletarian army!

In the upstairs buffet so thick they lay that one could hardly walk The air was foul Through the clouded windows a pale light streamed A battered samovar cold stood on the counter and many glasses holding dregs of tea Beside them lay a copy of the Military Revolutionary Committee s last bulletin upside down scrawled with painful hand writing It was a memorial written by some

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soldier to his comrades fallen in the fight against Kerensky just as he had set it down before falling on the floor to sleep The writing was blurred with what looked like tears

Alexei Vinogradov
D Maskvin
S Stolbikov
A Voskresensky
D Leonsky
D Preobrazhensky
V Laidansky
M Berchikov

These men were drafted into the Army on November 15th 1916 Only three are left of the above

Mikhail Berchikov
Alexei Voskresensky
Dmitri Leonsky

* * *

Sleep warrior eagles sleep with peaceful soul
You have deserved our own ones happiness and
Eternal peace Under the earth of the grave
You have straitly closed your ranks Sleep Citizens!

Only the Military Revolutionary Committee still functioned, unsleeping Skrypnik emerging from the inner room said that Gotz had been arrested but had flatly denied signing the proclamation of the Committee for Salvation as had Avksentiev and the Committee for Salvation itself had repudiated the Appeal to the garrison There was still disaffection among the city regiments Skrypnik reported the Volhynsky Regiment had refused to fight against Kerensky

Several detachments of neutral troops with Chernov

at their head were at Gatchina trying to persuade Keren sky to halt his attack on Petrograd

Skrypnik laughed There can be no neutrals now he said We ve won! His sharp bearded face glowed with an almost religious exaltation More than sixty delegates have arrived from the Front with assurances of support by all the armies except the troops on the Rumanian front who have not been heard from The Army Committees have suppressed all news from Petrograd but we now have a regular system of couriers

Down in the front hall Kamenev was just entering worn out by the all night session of the Conference to Form a New Government but happy Already the Socialist Revolutionaries are inclined to admit us into the new Government he told me The right wing groups are frightened by the Revolutionary Tribunals they demand in a sort of panic that we dissolve them before going any further We have accepted the proposition of the *Vikzhel* to form a homogeneous Socialist Ministry and they re working on that now You see it all springs from our victory Wh n we were down they wouldn t have us at any price now everybody s in favour of some agree ment with the Soviets What we need is a really decisive victory Kerensky wants an armistice but he ll have to surrender [2]

That was the temper of the Bolshevik leaders To a foreign journalist who asked Trotsky what statement he h d to make to the world Trotsky replied At this moment the only statement possible is the one we are making through the mouths of our cannon!

But there was an undercurrent of real anxiety in the tide of victory the question of finances Instead of opening the banks as had been ordered by the Military Revolutionary Committee the Union of Bank Employees had

ШТАБЪ
В... о Ре... ціо... аго Коми... тет
Совѣт Р. и С. Д.

2 ноября 1917 г.

№ 1860

УДОСТОВѢРЕНІЕ

Д... по сіе журналистам Нью-Іорке об соціалисти... чес... прессы Джону РИДЪ въ томъ что т... ст... тел... гр... мы прос... отрѣ... в Пра... ст... о... Народныхъ Ко... ссар... и преп... тствій к отправленію ... а ... предл... ется всячески содѣйствовать ея отправленію по на... наче... ію

За Главно... омандующ...

Начальникъ Штаба



Order given me at Staff headquarters by command of the Council of People s Commissars to transmit the first despatch out of Petrograd after the November Revolution over the Government wires to America

TRANSLATION

STAFF
Military Revolutionary
Committee
Sov W & S D
2 November 1917
No 1860

CERTIFICATE

Is given by the present to the journalist of the New York Socialist press JOHN REED that the text of the telegram (here with) has been examined by the Government of Peoples Commissars and there is no objection to its transmission and also it is recommended that all cooperate in every way to transmit same to its destination

For the Commander in Chief ANTONOV
Chief of Staff VLAD BONCH BRUEVITCH

held a meeting and declared a formal strike Smolny had demanded some thirty five millions of rubles from the State Bank and the cashier had locked the vaults only paying out money to the representatives of the Provisional Government The reactionaries were using the State Bank as a political weapon for instance when the *Vikzhel* demanded money to pay the salaries of the employees of the Government railroads it was told to apply to Smolny

I went to the State Bank to see the new Commissar a red haired Ukrainian Bolshevik named Petrovich He was trying to bring order out of the chaos in which affairs had been left by the striking clerks In all the offices of the huge place perspiring volunteer workers soldiers and sailors their tongues sticking out of their mouths in the intensity of their effort were poring over the great ledgers with a bewildered air

The Duma building was crowded There were still isolated cases of defiance toward the new Government but they were rare The Central Land Committee had appealed to the Peasants ordering them not to recognise the Land Decree passed by the Congress of the Soviets because it would cause confusion and civil war Mayor Schreider announced that because of the Bolshevik insurrection the elections to the Constituent Assembly would have to be indefinitely postponed

Two questions seemed to be uppermost in all minds shocked by the ferocity of the civil war first a truce to the bloodshed[3]—second the creation of a new Government There was no longer any talk of destroying the Bolsheviki —and very little about excluding them from the Government except from the Populist Socialists and the Peasants Soviets Even the Central Army Committee

ШТАБЪ
Военно-Революціоннаго Комит.
Сов. Р. и С. Д.
2 ноября 1917 г.
№ 1860



УДОСТОВѢРЕНІЕ

Д по сі жур ал эт Нью-Іоркской соціалистической пресс Джону РИДЪ въ ом что т т т при про отрѣн Пра т вств нар дныхъ Крим стро к пр пят твій къ отправ е и е ний т а т кже преда г тся вся ски содѣйст овал ея от равитіа по н ч іе

За Глав вокомандующаго Антонов
Начальн шт Влад Бонч-Бруевичъ

Order given me at Staff headquarters by command of the Council of People s Commissars to transmit the first despatch out of Petrograd after the November Revolution over the Government wires to America

TRANSLATION

STAFF
Military Revolutionary
Committee
Sov W & S D
2 November 1917
No 1860

CERTIFICATE

Is given by the present to the journalist of the New York Socialist press JOHN REED that the text of the telegram (here with) has been examined by the Government of People s Commissars and there is no objection to its transmission and also it is recommended that all cooperate in every way to transmit same to its destination

For the Commander in Chief ANTONOV
Chief of Staff VLAD BONCH BRUEVITCH

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at the *Stavka* the most determined enemy of Smolny tele phoned from Moghilev If to constitute the new Ministry it is necessary to come to an understanding with the Bol sheviki we agree to admit them *in a minority* to the Cabinet

Pravda ironically calling attention to Kerensky s hu manitarian sentiments, published his despatch to the Com mittee for Salvation

In accord with the proposals of the Committee for Salva tion and all the democratic organisations united around it I have halted all military action against the rebels A delegate of the Committee has been sent to enter into negotiations Take all measures to stop the useless shedding of blood

The *Vikzhel* sent a telegram to all Russia

The Conference of the Union of Railway Workers with the representatives of both the belligerent parties who admit the necessity of an agreement protest energetically against the use of political terrorism in the civil war especially when it is carried on between different factions of the revolution ary democracy and declare that political terrorism in what ever form is in contradiction to the very idea of the nego tiations for a new Government

Delegations from the Conference were sent to the Front, to Gatchina In the Conference itself everything seemed on the point of final settlement It had even been decided to elect a provisional People s Council composed of about four hundred members—seventy five representing Smolny seventy five the old *Tsay ee kah* and the rest split up among the Town Dumas the Trade Unions Land Com mittees and political parties Chernov was mentioned as

Веселый выпускъ | Цѣна 20 коп.

КАКЪ БУРЖУИ власть ПОТЕРЯЛИ

Акафистъ Сашкѣ—Болтуну

Сказочки и пѣсенки для дѣтей призывнаго возраста.

Какъ они царствовали. – Что они распѣвали. – Что т п рь поютъ.

Керенскій.

Черновъ.

СКАЗОЧКА.

Аргуновъ.

Popular leaflet sold in the streets just after the Bolshevik insurrection containing rhymes and jokes about the defeated bourgeoisie and the moderate Socialist leaders Called How the Boorzhui (Bourgeoisie) Lost the Power

the new Premier Lenin and Trotsky rumour said were to be excluded

About noon I was again in front of Smolny talking with the driver of an ambulance bound for the revolutionary front Could I go with him? Certainly! He was a volunteer, a University student and as we rolled down the street shouted over his shoulder to me phrases of execrable German *Also gut! Wir nach die Kasernen zu essen gehen!* I made out that there would be lunch at some barracks

On the Kirochnaya we turned into an immense courtyard surrounded by military buildings and mounted a dark stairway to a low room lit by one window At a long wooden table were seated some twenty soldiers eating *shchi* (cabbage soup) from a great tin wash tub with wooden spoons and talking loudly with much laughter

Welcome to the Battalion Committee of the Sixth Reserve Engineers Battalion! cried my friend and introduced me as an American Socialist Whereat every one rose to shake my hand and one old soldier put his arms around me and gave me a hearty kiss A wooden spoon was produced and I took my place at the table Another tub full of *kasha* was brought in a huge loaf of black bread and of course the inevitable tea pots At once every one began asking me questions about America Was it true that people in a free country sold their votes for *money*? If so how did they get what they wanted? How about this Tammany ? Was it true that in a free country a little group of people could control a whole city and exploited it for their personal benefit? Why did the people stand it? Even under the Tsar such things could not happen in Russia true here there was always graft but to buy and sell a whole city full of people! And in a free

country! Had the people no revolutionary feelin ? I tried to explain that in my country people tried to change things by law

Of course nodded a young sergeant named Baklanov who spoke French But you have a highly developed capitalist class? Then the capitalist class must control the le islatures and the courts How then can the people chan e things? I am open to conviction for I do not know your country but to me it is incredible

I said that I was going to Tsarskoye Selo I too said Baklanov suddenly And I—and I—— The whole roomful decided on the spot to go to Tsarskoye Selo

Just then came a knock on the door It opened and in it stood the figure of the Colonel No one rose but all shouted a greeting May I come in? asked the Colonel *Prosim! Prosim!* they answered heartily He entered smiling a tall distinguished figure in a goat skin cape embroidered with gold I think I heard you say that you were goin to Tsarskoye Selo comrades he said Could I go with you?

Baklanov considered I do not think there is anything to be done here to-day he answered Yes comrad we shall be very glad to have you. The Colonel thanked him and sat down filling a glass with tea

In a low voice for fear of wounding the Colonel s pride Baklonov explained to me You see I am chairman of the Committee We *control* the Battalion absolutely except in action when the Colonel is delegated by us to command In action his orders must be obeyed but he is strictly responsible to us In barracks he must ask our permission before taking any action You might call him our Executive Officer "

Arms were distributed to us revolvers and rifles— we might m et some Cossacks you know —and we all piled

into the ambulance, together with three great bundles of newspapers for the front Straight down the Liteiny we rattled, and along the Zagorodny Prospekt Next to me sat a youth with the Shoulder straps of a Lieutenant who seemed to speak all European languages with equal fluency He was a member of the Battalion Committee

I am not a Bolshevik he assured me emphatically My family is a very ancient and noble one I, myself am you might say a Cadet

But how——? I began bewildered

Oh yes I am a member of the Committee I make no secret of my political opinions but the others do not mind because they know I do not believe in opposing the will of the majority I have refused to take any action in the present civil war however for I do not believe in taking up arms against my brother Russians

Provocator! Kornilovets! the others cried at him gaily slapping him on the shoulder

Passing under the huge grey stone archway of the Moskovsky Gate covered with golden hieroglyphics ponderous Imperial eagles and the names of Tsars we sped out on the wide straight highway grey with the first light fall of snow It was thronged with Red Guards stumbling along on foot toward the revolutionary front shouting and singing and others grey faced and muddy coming back Most of them seemed to be mere boys Women with spades some with rifles and bandoleers others wearing the Red Cross on their arm bands—the bowed toil worn women of the slums Squads of soldiers marching out of step with an affectionate jeer for the Red Guards sailors grim looking children with bundles of food for their fathers and mothers all these coming and going trudged through the whitened mud that covered the

cobbles of the highway inches deep We passed cannon going southward with their caissons trucks bound both ways bristling with armed men ambulances full of wounded from the direction of the battle and once a peasant cart creaking along in which sat a white faced boy bent over his shattered stomach and screaming monotonously In the fields on either side women and old men were digging trenches and stringing barbed wire entanglements

Back northward the clouds rolled away dramatically and the pale sun came out Across the flat marshy plain Petrograd glittered To the right white and gilded and coloured bulbs and pinnacles to the left tall chimneys some pouring out black smoke and beyond a lowering sky over Finland On each side of us were churches monasteries Occasionally a monk was visible silently watching the pulse of the proletarian army throbbing on the road

At Pulkovo the road divided and there we halted in the midst of a great crowd where the human streams poured from three directions friends meeting excited and congratulatory describing the battle *to one another* A row of houses facing the cross roads was marked with bullets and the earth was trampled into mud half a mile around The fighting had been furious here In the *n ar distance* riderless Cossack horses circled hungrily for the grass of the plain had died long ago Right in front of us an awkward Red Guard was trying to ride one falling off again and again to the childlike delight of a thousand rough men

The left road along which the remnants of the Cossacks had retreated led up a little hill to a hamlet where there was a glorious view of the immense plain grey as a windless sea, tumultuous *clouds* towering over and the im

perial city disgorging its thousands along all the roads Far over to the left lay the little hill of Krasnoye Selo the parade ground of the Imperial Guards summer camp and the Imperial Dairy In the middle distance nothing broke the monotony but a few walled monasteries and convents some isolated factories and several large buildings with unkempt grounds that were asylums and orphanages

Here said the driver as we went on over a barren hill here was where Vera Slutskaya died Yes the Bolshevik member of the Duma It happened early this morning She was in an automobile with Zalkind and another man There was a truce and they started for the front trenches They were talking and laughing when all of a sudden from the armoured train in which Kerensky himself was riding somebody saw the automobile and fired a cannon The shell struck Vera Slutskaya and killed her

And so we came into Tsarskoye all bustling with the swaggering heroes of the proletarian horde Now the palace where the Soviet had met was a busy place Red Guards and sailors filled the court yard sentries stood at the doors and a stream of couriers and Commissars pushed in and out In the Soviet room a samovar had been set up and fifty or more workers soldiers sailors and officers stood around drinking tea and talking at the top of their voices In one corner two clumsy handed workingmen were trying to make a multigraphing machine go At the centre table the huge Dybenko bent over a map, marking out positions for the troops with red and blue pencils In his free hand he carried as always the enormous blue steel revolver Anon he sat himself down at a typewriter and pounded away with one finger every

little while he would pause pick up the revolver and lovingly spin the chamber

A couch lay along the wall and on this was stretched a young workman Two Red Guards were bending over him but the rest of the company did not pay any attention In his breast was a hole through his clothes fresh blood came welling up with every heart beat. His eyes were closed and his young bearded face was greenish white Faintly and slowly he still breathed with every breath singing *Mir budit! Mir budit!* (Peace is coming! Peace is coming!)

Dybenko looked up as we came in "Ah he said to Baklanov Comrade will you go up to the Commandant s headquarters and take charge? Wait I will write you credentials He went to the typewriter and slowly picked out the letters

The new Commandant of Tsarskoye Selo and I went toward the Ekaterina Palace Baklanov very excited and important In the same ornate white room some Red Guards were rummaging curiously around while my old friend the Colonel stood by the window biting his moustache He greeted me like a long lost brother At a table near the door sat the French Bessarabian The Bolsheviki had ordered him to remain and continue his work

What could I do? he muttered People like myself cannot fight on either side in such a war as this no matter how much we may instinctively dislike the dictatorship of the mob I only regret that I am so far from my mother in Bessarabia!

Baklanov was formally taking over the office from the Commandant Here said the Colonel nervously are the keys to the desk

A Red Guard interrupted Where s the money? he

asked rudely The Colonel seemed surprised Money? Money? Ah you mean the chest There it is said the Colonel just as I found it when I took possession three days ago Keys? The Colonel shrugged I have no keys

The Red Guard sneered knowingly Very convenient" he said

Let us open the chest, said Baklanov Bring an axe Here is an American comrade Let him smash the chest open and write down what he finds there

I swung the axe The wooden chest was empty

Let s arrest him said the Red Guard venomously He is Kerensky s man He has stolen the money and given it to Kerensky

Baklanov did not want to Oh no he said It was the Kornilovets before him He is not to blame

The devil' cried the Red Guard He is Kerensky s man I tell you If *you* won t arrest him then *we* will and we ll take him to Petrograd and put him in Peter Paul where he belongs' At this the other Red Guards growled assent With a piteous glance at us the Colonel was led away

Down in front of the Soviet palace an auto-truck was going to the front Half a dozen Red Guards some sailors and a soldier or two under command of a huge workman clambered in and shouted to me to come along Red Guards issued from headquarters each of them staggering under an arm load of small corrugated iron bundles filled with *grubit*—which they say is ten times as strong and five times as sensitive as dynamite these they threw into the truck A three inch cannon was loaded and then tied onto the tail of the truck with bits of rope and wire

We started away with a shout at top speed of course

the heavy truck swaying from side to side The cannon leaped from one wheel to the other and the *grubit* bombs went rollin, back and forth over our feet fetching up against the sides of the car with a crash

The big Red Guard whose name was Vladimir Nicolaievich plied me with questions about America Why did America come into the war? Are the American workers ready to throw over the capitalists? What is the situation in the Mooney case now? Will they extradite Berkman to San Francisco? and others very difficult to answer all delivered in a shout above the roaring of the truck while we held on to each other and danced amid the caroming bombs

Occasionally a patrol tried to stop us Soldiers ran out into the road before us shouted *Stoi!* and threw up their guns

We paid no attention The devil take you! cried the Red Guards We don t stop for anybody! We re Red Guards! And we thundered imperiously on while Vladimir Nicolaievich bellowed to me about the internationalisation of the Panama Canal and such matters

About five miles out we saw a squad of sailors marching back and slowed down

Where s the front brothers?

The foremost sailor halted and scratched his head This morning he said it was about half a kilometer down the road But the damn thing isn t anywhere now We walked and walked and walked but we couldn t find it

They climbed into the truck and we proceeded It must have been about a mile further that Vladimir Nicolaievich cocked his ear and shouted to the chauffeur to stop

Firing! he said Do you hear it? For a moment dead silence and then a little ahead and to the left, three shots in rapid succession. Along here the side of the road was

heavily wooded Very much excited now we crept along speaking in whispers until the truck was nearly opposite the place where the firing had come from Descending we spread out and every man carrying his rifle went stealthily into the forest

Two comrades meanwhile detached the cannon and slewed it around until it aimed as nearly as possible at our backs

It was silent in the woods The leaves were gone and the tree trunks were a pale wan colour in the low sickly autumn sun Not a thing moved except the ice of little woodland pools shivering under our feet Was it an ambush?

We went uneventfully forward until the trees began to thin and paused Beyond in a little clearing three soldiers sat around a small fire perfectly oblivious

Vladimir Nicolaievich stepped forward *Zdrastvuitye* comrades! he greeted while behind him one cannon twenty rifles and a truck load of *grubit* bombs hung by a hair The soldiers scrambled to their feet

What was the shooting going on around here?

One of the soldiers answered looking relieved Why we were just shooting a rabbit or two comrade

The truck hurtled on toward Romanov through the bright empty day At the first cross roads two soldiers ran out in front of us waving their rifles We slowed down and stopped

Passes comrades!

The Red Guards raised a great clamour We are Red Guards We don t need any passes Go on never mind them!

But a sailor objected This is wrong comrades We must have revolutionary discipline Suppose some counter

revolutionaries came along in a truck and said We don t need any passes? The comrades don t know you

At this there was a debate One by one however the sailors and soldiers joined with the first Grumbling each Red Guard produced his dirty *bumaga* (paper) All were alike except mine which had been issued by the Revolutionary Staff at Smolny The sentries declared that I must go with them The Red Guards objected strenuously but the sailor who had spoken first insisted 'This comrade we know to be a true comrade " he said But there are orders of the Committee and these orders must be obeyed That is revolutionary discipline

In order not to make any trouble I got down from the truck and watched it disappear careening down the road all the company waving farewell The soldiers consulted in low tones for a moment and then led me to a wall against which they placed me It flashed upon me suddenly they were going to shoot me!

In all three directions not a human being was in sight The only sign of life was smoke from the chimney of a *dacha* a rambling wooden house a quarter of a mile up the side road The two soldiers were walking out into the road Desperately I ran after them

But comrades! See! Here is the seal of the Military Revolutionary Committee!

They stared stupidly at my pass then at each other

It is different from the others said one sullenly We cannot read brother

I took him by the arm Come! I said Let s go to that house Some one there can surely read They hesitated No said one The other looked me over Why not? he muttered After all it is a serious crime to kill an innocent man

We walked up to the front door of the house and

knocked A short stout woman opened it and shrank back in alarm babbling I don t know anything about them! I don t know anything about them! One of my guards held out the pass She screamed Just to read it comrade Hesitatingly she took the paper and read aloud swiftly

The bearer of this pass John Reed is a representative of the American Social Democracy an internationalist

Out on the road again the two soldiers held another consultation We must take you to the Regimental Committee they said In the fast deepening twilight we trudged along the muddy road Occasionally we met squads of soldiers who stopped and surrounded me with looks of menace handing my pass around and arguing violently as to whether or not I should be killed

It was dark when we came to the barracks of the Second Tsarskoye Selo Rifles low sprawling buildings huddled along the post road A number of soldiers slouching at the entrance asked eager questions A spy? A provocator? We mounted a winding stair and emerged into a great bare room with a huge stove in the centre and rows of cots on the floor where about a thousand soldiers were playing cards talking singing and asleep In the roof was a jagged hole made by Kerensky s cannon

I stood in the doorway and a sudden silence ran among the groups who turned and stared at me Of a sudden they began to move slowly and then with a rush thundering with faces full of hate Comrades! Comrades! yelled one of my guards Committee! Committee! The throng halted banked around me muttering Out of them shouldered a lean youth wearing a red arm band

Who is this? he asked roughly The guards explained

Give me the paper! He read it carefully glancing at me with keen eyes Then he smiled and handed me the pass Comrades this is an American comrade I am Chairman of the Committee and I welcome you to the Regiment

" A sudden general buzz grew into a roar of greeting and they pressed forward to shake my hand

You have not dined? Here we have had our dinner You shall go to the Officers Club where there are some who speak your language

He led me across the court yard to the door of another building An aristocratic looking youth with the shoulder straps of a Lieutenant, was entering The Chairman presented me and shaking hands went back

"I am Stepan Georgevich Morovsky at your service said the Lieutenant in perfect French From the ornate entrance hall a ceremonial staircase led upward lighted by glittering lustres On the second floor billiard rooms card rooms a library opened from the hall We entered the dining room at a long table in the centre of which sat about twenty officers in full uniform wearing their gold and silver handl d swords the ribbons and crosses of Imperial decorations All rose politely as I entered and made a place for me beside the Colonel a large impressive man with a grizzled beard Orderlies were deftly serving dinner The atmosphere was that of any officers mess in Europe Where was the Revolution?

You are not Bolsheviki? I asked Morovsky

A smile went around the table but I caught one or two glancing furtively at th orderly

"No answered my friend 'There is only one Bolshevik officer in this regiment He is in Petrograd to night The Colonel is a Mensh vik Captain Kherlov there is a Cadet I myself am a Socialist Revolutionary of the right wing I should say that most of the officers in the

Army are not Bolsheviki but like me they believe in democracy they believe that they must follow the soldier masses

Dinner over maps were brought and the Colonel spread them out on the table The rest crowded around to see

Here said the Colonel pointing to pencil marks were our positions this morning Vladimir Kyrilovich where is your company?

Captain Kherlov pointed According to orders we occupied the position along this road Karsavin relieved me at five o clock

Just then the door of the room opened and there entered the Chairman of the Regimental Committee with another soldier They joined the group behind the Colonel peering at the map

Good said the Colonel Now the Cossacks have fallen back ten kilometres in our sector I do not think it is necessary to take up advanced positions Gentlemen for to night you will hold the present line strengthening the positions by——

If you please interrupted the Chairman of the Regimental Committee The orders are to advance with all speed and prepare to engage the Cossacks north of Gatchina in the morning A crushing defeat is necessary Kindly make the proper dispositions

There was a short silence The Colonel again turned to the map Very well he said in a different voice Stepan Georgevich you will please—— Rapidly tracing lines with a blue pencil he gave his orders while a sergeant made shorthand notes The sergeant then withdrew and ten minutes later returned with the orders typewritten and one carbon copy The Chairman of the Committee studied the map with a copy of the orders before him

All right he said rising Folding the carbon copy

he put it in his pocket Then he signed the other stamped it with a round seal taken from his pocket and presented it to the Colonel

Here was the Revolution!

I returned to the Soviet palace in Tsarskoye in the Regimental Staff automobile Still the crowds of workers soldiers and sailors pouring in and out still the choking press of trucks armoured cars cannon before the door and the shouting the laughter of unwonted victory Half a dozen Red Guards forced their way through a priest in the middle This was Father Ivan they said who had blessed the Cossacks when they entered the town I heard afterward that he was shot [4]

Dybenko was just coming out giving rapid orders right and left In his hand he carried the big revolver An automobile stood with racing engine at the kerb Alone he climbed in the rear seat and was off—off to Gatchina to conquer Kerensky

Toward nightfall he arrived at the outskirts of the town and went on afoot What Dybenko told the Cossacks nobody knows but the fact is that General Krasnov and his staff and several thousand Cossacks surrendered and advised Kerensky to do the same [5]

As for Kerensky—I reprint here the deposition made by General Krasnov on the morning of November 14th

> Gatchina November 14 1917 To-day about three o clock (A. M) I was summoned by the Supreme Commander (Kerensky) He was very agitated and very nervous
>
> General he said to me you have betrayed *me* Your Cossacks declare categorically that they will arrest me and deliver me to the sailors
>
> Yes I answered there is talk of it and I know that you have no sympathy anywhere

But the officers say the same thing

Yes most of all it is the officers who are discontented with you

What shall I do? I ought to commit suicide!

" If you are an honourable man you will go immediately to Petrograd with a white flag you will present yourself to the Military Revolutionary Committee and enter into negotiations as Chief of the Provisional Government

All right I will do that General

I will give you a guard and ask that a sailor go with you

No no not a sailor Do you know whether it is true that Dybenko is here?

I don t know who Dybenko is

He is my enemy

'There is nothing to do If you play for high stakes you must know how to take a chance

Yes I ll leave to night!

Why? That would be a flight Leave calmly and openly so that every one can see that you are not running away

Very well But you must give me a guard on which I can count

Good

I went out and called the Cossack Russkov of the Tenth Regiment of the Don and ordered him to pick out ten Cossacks to accompany the Supreme Commander Half an hour later the Cossacks came to tell me that Kerensky was not in his quarters that he had run away

I gave the alarm and ordered that he be searched for upposing that he could not have left Gatchina but he could not be found

And so Kerensky fled alone disguised in the uniform of a sailor and by that act lost whatever popularity he had retained among the Russian masses

I went back to Petrograd riding on the front seat of an auto truck driven by a workman and filled with Red Guards We had no kerosene so our lights were not burn in, The road was crowded with the proletarian army goin, home and new reserves pouring out to take their places Immense trucks like ours columns of artillery wagons loomed up in the night without lights as we were We hurtled furiously on wrenched right and left to avoid collisions that seemed inevitable scraping wheels followed by the epithets of pedestrians

Across the horizon spread the glittering lights of the capital immeasurably more splendid by night than by day like a dike of jewels heaped on the barren plain

The old workman who drove held the wheel in one hand while with the other he swept the far gleaming capital in an exultant gesture

Mine! he cried his face all alight All mine now! My Petrograd!

NOTES TO CHAPTER IX

1 Mil tary Re lutı nary Committee. Bulletin No. 2

November 12th in the evening Kerensky sent a proposition to the re lutionary troops—"to lay down their arm Kerensky's men ope ed artillery fire Our artillery answered and compelled the enemy to be silent. The Cossacks assumed the offensive The deadly fire of the sailors, the Red Guards and the soldiers forced the Cossacks to retreat. Our armoured cars rushed in among the ranks f the enemy The enemy is fleeing Our troops are in pursu t. The order has been given to arrest Kerensky Tsarskoye Selo has been taken by the revolutionary troops

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1 Military Revolutionary Committee Bulletin No 2

November 12th in the evening *Kerensky* sent a proposition to the revolutionary troops— to lay down *their* arms Kerensky's men opened artillery fire Our artillery answered and compelled the enemy to be silent. The Cossacks assumed the offensive The deadly fire of the sailors the Red Guards and the soldiers forced the Cossacks to retreat. Our armoured cars rushed in among the ranks of the enemy The *enemy is* fleeing. Our troops are in pursuit. The order has been given to arrest Kerensky Tsarskoye Selo has been taken by the revolutionary troops

The Lettish Riflemen. The Military Revolutionary Committee

has received precise information that the valiant Lettish Riflemen have arrived from the Front and taken up a position in the rear of Kerensky s bands

From the Staff of the Military Revolutionary Committee

The seizure of Gatchina and Tsarskoye Selo by Kerensky s detachments is to be explained by the complete absence of artillery and machine guns in these places whereas Kerensky s cavalry was provided with artillery from the beginning The last two days were days of enforced work for our Staff to provide the necessary quantity of guns machine guns field telephones etc for the revolutionary troops When this work—with the energetic assistance of the District Soviets and the factories (the Putilov Works Obukhov and others)—was accomplished the issue of the expected encounter left no place for doubt on the side of the revolutionary troops there was not only a surplus in quantity and such a powerful material base as Petrograd but also an enormous moral advantage All the Petrograd regiments moved out to the positions with tremendous enthusiasm The Garrison Conference elected a Control Commission of five soldiers thus securing a complete unity between the commander in chief and the garrison At the Garrison Conference it was unanimously decided to begin decisive action

The artillery fire on the 12th of November developed with extraordinary force by 3 P M The Cossacks were completely demoralised A parliamentarian came from them to the staff of the detachment at Krasnoye Selo and proposed to stop the firing threatening otherwise to take decisive measures He was answered that the firing would cease when Kerensky laid down his arms

In the developing encounter all sections of the troops—the sailors soldiers and the Red Guards—showed unlimited courage The sailors continued to advance until they had fired all their cartridges The number of casualties has not been established yet but it is larger on the part of the counter revolutionary troops who experienced great losses through one of our armoured cars

Kerensky s staff fearing that they would be surrounded gave the order to retreat which retreat speedily assumed a disorderly character By 11 12 P M Tsarskoye Selo including the wireless station was entirely occupied by the troops of the Soviets The Cossacks retreated towards Gatchina and Colpino

The morale of the troops is beyond all praise The order has been given to pursue the retreating Cossacks From the Tsarskove Selo station a radio-telegram was sent immediately to the Front and to all local Soviets throughout Russia Further details will be communicated

2

There is little resemblance between the accounts given to Reed by heroes-after the battle organized with his romantic narrative skill and the actual battle around Gatchina Pulkovo and Tsar skoye Selo The picture wh ch emerges from both Soviet offic al documents and the accounts of Kerensky Krasnov Stanke ich Woytinsky etc s one of little f ghting and many cross currents of intrigue and propaganda Workers could not be turned into soldiers overn ght. Their ranks broke each time they were under fire m ny landed in the hosp tal with broken jaws because they d d not know that a gun will kick when fired The Petrograd regi ments each followed their own plan and whim most of them refu ng to leave Petrograd Only the Kronstadt sailors fought well a d hel l tenaciously under fire Krasnov wavered as to whether he should support Kerensky or let the Pro isional Covernment fall a d then join with other generals in dealing with the Bolshe v ks later Th Cossa ks broke not under a hail of bullets but under a hail of cro s currents of propaganda From the Cossack So iet came pressure upon them and their commander to refuse to defe d Kerensky who had betraye l Korn ov From Bolshe ik agitators came arguments that Kerensky was supported only by officers. No organized unit of infantry w s with him *in the field* only volunt er officers and the small contingent of six or seven hundred Cossacks Many generals promised Kerensky reinfo ce ments i response to h s urgent calls but some would no and some co ild not supply them. Cheremissov deliberately ordered the troops ot to d ance to h s a d wh le Krasnov delayed his attack fo a fatal day ordered a retreat when only an ad ance m ht h e gi en possibility of ictory then he and the Cossacks t ed to hand o er Kerensky to the Bolsheviks in return for an honorable safe-conduct with all their officers horses and arms to the Cossack lands Kerensky managed to learn of the terms and escaped n d sguise as a sailor Woytinsky the Commissar with the troops marching towards Petrograd was surrendered to the

Bolsheviks after an argument that as he was not a Cossack nor a Cossack officer the agreement for honorable safe-conduct did not apply to him —*Ed*

3 Events of the 13th in Petrograd

Three regiments of the Petrograd garrison refused to take any part in the battle against Kerensky On the morning of the 13th they summoned to a joint conference sixty delegates from the Front in order to find some way to stop the civil war This conference appointed a committee to go and persuade Kerensky's troops to lay down their arms They proposed to ask the Government soldiers the following questions (1) Will the soldiers and Cossacks of Kerensky recognise the *Tsay ee kah* as the repository of Governmental power responsible to the Congress of Soviets? (2) Will the soldiers and Cossacks accept the decrees of the second Congress of Soviets? (3) Will they accept the Land and Peace decrees? (4) Will they agree to cease hostilities and return to their units? (5) Will they consent to the arrest of Kerensky Krasnov and Savinkov?

At the meeting of the Petrograd Soviet Zinoviev said It would be foolish to think that this committee could finish the affair The enemy can only be broken by force However it would be a crime for us not to try every peaceful means to bring the Cossacks over to us What we need is a military victory The news of an armistice is premature Our staff will be ready to conclude an armistice when the enemy can no longer do any harm

At present the influence of our victory is creating new political conditions To day the Socialist Revolutionaries are inclined to admit the Bolsheviki into the new Government A decisive victory is indispensable so that those who hesitate will have no further hesitation

At the City Duma all attention was concentrated on the formation of the new Government In many factories and barracks already Revolutionary Tribunals were operating and the Bolsheviki were threatening to set up more of these and try Gotz and Avksentiev before them Dan proposed that an ultimatum be sent demanding the abolition of these Revolutionary Tribunals or the other members of the Conference would immediately break off all negotiations with the Bolsheviki

Shingariov Cadet declared that the Municipality ought not to

take part in any agreement with the Bolsheviki Any agreement with the maniacs is impossible until they lay down their arms and recognise the authority of independent courts of law

Yartsev for the *Yed nstvo* group declared that any agreement with the Bolsheviki would be equivalent to a Bolshevik victory

Mayor Schreider for the Socialist Revolutionaries stated that he was opposed to all agreement with the Bolsheviki As for a Governm nt, that ou ht to spring from the popular will and since the popular will has been expressed in the municipal el ct ons the popular will which can create a Government is actually concentrated in the Duma.

After other speakers of which only the representative of the Mensheviki Internationalists was in favour of considering the admission of the Bolsheviki into the new Government, the Duma oted to continue its representatives in the *Vik hel's* conference but to insist upon the restoration of the Provisional Government before everything, and to exclude the Bolsheviki from the new power

4 True Krasnov s Answer to the Committee *for Sal ation*

In answe to your telegram proposing an immed ate armistice the Supreme Commander not wishing further futile bloodshed cons ts to enter into negotiations and to establish relations between th armies of the Government and the insurrectionists He proposes to the General Staff of the insurrectionists to recall its regiments to Petrograd, to decla e the line Ligovo-Pulkovo-Colpino neutral and to allow the advance guards of the Government ca alry to nter Tsarskoye Selo for the purpose of establishing o d r The answer to this proposal must be placed in the hands of our envoys befo e eight o clock to-morrow morning.

KRASNOV "

5 E ents at Tsarskoye Selo

On the e ening that Kerensky's troops retreated from Tsarskoye Selo some pr ests organised a religious procession through the streets of the town makin speeches to the citizens in which they asked the people to s pport the rightful authority the Provi

sional Government When the Cossacks had retreated and the first Red Guards entered the town witnesses reported that the priests had incited the people against the Soviets and had said prayers at the grave of Rasputin which lies behind the Imperial Palace One of the priests Father Ivan Kuchurov was arrested and shot by the infuriated Red Guards

Just as the Red Guards entered the town the electric lights were shut off plunging the streets in complete darkness. The director of the electric light plant Lubovich was arrested by the Soviet troops and asked why he had shut off the lights He was found some time later in the room where he had been imprisoned with a revolver in his hand and a bullethole in his temple

The Petrograd anti Bolshevik papers came out next day with headlines Plekhanov s temperature 39 degrees! Plekhanov lived at Tsarskoye Selo where he was lying ill in bed Red Guards arrived at the house and searched it for arms questioning the old man

What class of society do you belong to?" they asked him

I am a revolutionist answered Plekhanov "who for forty years has devoted his life to the struggle for liberty'

Anyway said a workman you have now sold yourself to the bourgeoisie!"

The workers no longer knew Plekhanov pioneer of the Russian Social Democracy! *

6 Appeal of the Soviet Government

'The detachments at Gatchina deceived by Kerensky have laid down their arms and decided to arrest Kerensky The chief of the counter revolutionary campaign has fled The Army by an enormous majority has pronounced in favour of the second All Russian Congress of Soviets and of the Government which it has created Scores of delegates from the Front have hastened to Petrograd to assure the Soviet Government of the Army s fidelity No twisting of the facts no calumny against the revolutionary

On the n ght of N vember 15 the M l tary Revol tion ry Committee sent th follow ng r d ogr m to Ts rskoe Sel s S et

"The Military R olutl n ry Comm ttee of the Ce tr l a d Pet ogr d So iets of Wo kers and Sold ers Deputi d rect th T rskoe Selo Sov et im med tely to undert ke extr ord n ry me es fo the complete security of the comfort and saf ty of c tizen G rogii Valenti ovich Plekh no "—*Ed*

workers sold ers and peasants has been able to defeat the People The Workers and Soldiers Revolution is victorious

"The *Tsay-ee kah* appeals to the troops wh ch march under the flag of the counter revolution and invites them immediately to lay down their arms—to shed no longer the blood of their brothers in the interests of a handful of land-owners and capital ists The Workers Soldiers and Peasants Revolution curses those who remain even for a moment under the flag of the People s enemies

Cossacks! Come o er to the rank of the victorious People! Railwaymen postmen telegraphers—all all support the new Government of the People!"

CHAPTER X

MOSCOW

The Military Revolutionary Committee with a fierce intensity followed up its victory

November 14th

To all Army corps divisional and regimental Committees to all Soviets of Workers Soldiers and Peasants Deputies to all all all

Conforming to the agreement between the Cossacks *yunkers* soldiers sailors and workers it has been decided to arraign Alexander Feodorvich Kerensky before a tribunal of the people We demand that Kerensky be arrested and that he be ordered in the name of the organisations hereinafter mentioned to come immediately to Petrograd and present himself to the tribunal

Signed

The Cossacks of the First Division of Ussuri Cavalry the Committee of Yunkers of the Petrograd detachment of Franc Tireurs the delegate of the Fifth Army

People s Commissar DYBENKO

The Committee for Salvation the Duma the Central Committee of the Socialist Revolutionary party—proudly claiming Kerensky as a member—all passionately pro-

tested that he could only be held responsible to the Con stituent Assembly

On the evening of November 16th I watched two thou sand Red Guards swing down the Zagorodny Prospekt behind a military band playing the *Marseillaise*—and how appropriate it sounded—with blood red flags over the dark ranks of workmen to welcome home again their brothers who had defended Red Petrograd In the bitter dusk they tramped men and women their tall bayonets sway ing through streets faintly lighted and slippery with mud between silent crowds of bourgeois contemptuous but fearful

All were against them—business men speculators in vestors land-owners army officers politicians teachers students professional men shop-keepers clerks agents The other Socialist parties hated the Bolsheviki with an implacable hatred On the side of the Soviets were the rank and file of the workers the sailors all the unde moralised soldiers the landless peasants and a few—a very few—intellectuals

From the farthest corners of great Russia whereupon desperate street fi hting burst like a wave news of Keren sky s defeat came echoing back—the immense roar of proletarian victory Kazan Saratov Novgorod Vinnitza —where the streets had run with blood Moscow where the Bolsheviki had turned their artillery against the last strong hold of the bourgeoisie—the Kremlin

'They are bombarding the Kremlin!" The news passed from mouth to mouth in the streets of Petrograd almost with a sense of terror Travellers from "white and shining little mother Moscow told fearful tales Thousands killed the Tverskaya and the Kuznetsky Most in flames the church of Vasili Blazhenny a smoking ruin Uspensky

Cathedral crumbling down the Spasskaya Gate of the Kremlin tottering the Duma burned to the ground[1]

Nothing that the Bolsheviki had done could compare with this fearful blasphemy in the heart of Holy Russia To the ears of the devout sounded the shock of guns crashing in the face of the Holy Orthodox Church and pounding to dust the sanctuary of the Russian nation

On November 15th Lunacharsky Commissar of Education broke into tears at the session of the Council of People s Commissars, and rushed from the room crying I cannot stand it! I cannot bear the monstrous destruction of beauty and tradition

That afternoon his letter of resignation was published in the newspapers

I have just been informed by people arriving from Moscow what has happened there

The Cathedral of St Basil the Blessed the Cathedral of the Assumption are being bombarded The Kremlin where are now gathered the most important art treasures of Petrograd and of Moscow is under artillery fire There are thousands of victims

The fearful struggle there has reached a pitch of bestial ferocity

What is left? What more can happen?

I cannot bear this My cup is full I am unable to endure these horrors It is impossible to work under the pressure of thoughts which drive me mad!

That is why I am leaving the Council of People s Commissars

I fully realise the gravity of this decision But I can bear no more

That same day the White Guards and *yunkers* in the Kremlin surrendered and were allowed to march out unharmed The treaty of peace follows

1 The Committee of Publi Safety ceases to exist

2 The White Guard gives up its arms and dis olves. The officers retain their swords and regulations side arms In the Military Schools are retained only the arms necessary for instruction all others are surrendered by the *yunkers* The Military Revolutionary Committee guarantees the liberty and inviolability of the person

3 To settle the question of disarmament as *set forth in* section 2 a special commission is appointed consisting of representatives from all organisations which took part in the p ace negotiations

4 From the moment of the si nature of this peace treaty both parties shall immediately give order to cease firing and halt all military operations taking measures to ensure punc tual obedience to this order

5 At the signature of the treaty all prisoners made by the two parties shall be released

For two days now the Bolsheviki had been in control of the city The frightened citizens were creeping out of their cellars to seek their dead the barricades in the streets were b ing removed Instead of diminishin however the stories of destruction in Moscow continued to grow

And it was under the influence of these fearful re ports that we decided to go there

Petrograd after all in spite of bein for a century the seat of Government is still an artificial city Moscow is real Russia Russia as it was and will be in Moscow we would get the true feelin of the Russian people about the Revolution Life was more intense there

For the past week the Petrograd Military Revolutionary Committee aided by the rank and file of the Railway Workers had seized control of the Nicolai Railroad and hurled trainload after trainload of sailors and Red Guards southwest We were provided with passes from Smolny without which no one could leave the capital

When the train backed into the station a mob of shabby soldiers all carrying huge sacks of eatables stormed the doors, smashed the windows and poured into all the compartments filling up the aisles and even climbing onto the roof Three of us managed to wedge our way into a compartment but almost immediately about twenty soldiers entered There was room for only four people we argued expostulated and the conductor joined us—*but the soldiers merely laughed Were they to bother* about the comfort of a lot of *boorzhui* (bourgeois)? We produced the passes from Smolny, instantly the soldiers changed their attitude

Come comrades cried one these are American *tovarishchi* They have come thirty thousand versts to see our Revolution and they are naturally tired

With polite and friendly apologies the soldiers began to leave Shortly afterward we heard them breaking into a *compartment occupied by two stout well dressed* Russians who had bribed the conductor and locked their door

About seven o clock in the evening we drew out of the station an immense long train drawn by a weak little locomotive burning wood and stumbled along slowly with many stops The soldiers on the roof kicked with their heels and sang whining peasant songs and in the corridor so jammed that it was impossible to pass violent political debates raged all night long Occasionally the conductor came through as a matter of habit looking for tickets He found very few except ours and after a half hour of futile wrangling lifted his arms despairingly and withdrew The atmosphere was stifling full of smoke and foul odours if it hadn t been for the broken windows we would doubtless have *smothered during the night*

In the morning hours late we looked out upon a snowy world It was bitter cold About noon a peasant woman

got on with a basket full of bread-chunks and a great can of luke warm coffee substitute From then on until dark there was nothing but the packed train jolting and stopping and occasional stations where a ravenous mob swooped down on the scantily furnished buffet and swept it clean At one of these halts I ran into Nogin and Rykov the seceding Commissars who were returning to Moscow to put their grievances before their own Soviet and further along was Bukharin a short red bearded man with the eyes of a fanatic— more Left than Lenin they said of him

Then the three strokes of the bell and we made a rush for the train worming our way through the packed and noisy aisle A good natured crowd bearing the dis comfort with humourous patience interminably arguing about everything from the situation in Petrograd to the British Trade Union system and disputing loudly with the few *boorzhui* who were on board Before we reached Moscow almost every car had organised a Committee to secure and distribute food and these Committees became d vided into political factions who wrangled over funda mental principles

The station at Moscow was deserted We went to the office of the Commissar in order to arrange for our re turn tickets He was a sullen youth with the shoulder straps of a Lieutenant when we showed him our papers from Smolny he lost his temper and declared that he was no Bolshevik that he represented the Committee of Public Safety It was characteristic—in the general turmoil attending the conquest of the city the chief railway sta tion had been forgotten by the victors

Not a cab in sight A few blocks down th street how ever we woke up a grotesquely padded *izvoschik* asleep

See Ch pte XI

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just where the *yunkers* and White Guards were we bom barded their pocketbooks

At the big Ho el National *th y finally took us in for* we were foreigners and the Military Revolutionary Com mittee had promised to protect the dwellings of foreign ers On the top floor the manager showed us where shrapnel had shattered several windows The animals! said he shaking his fist at imaginary Bolsheviki But wait! Their time will come in just a few days now their ridiculous Government will fall and then we shall make them suffer!

We dined at a vegetarian restaurant with the enticing name I Eat Nobody and Tolstoy s picture prominent on the walls and then sallied out into the streets

The headquarters of the Moscow Soviet was in the palace of the former Governor General an imposing white building fronting Skobelev Square Red Guards stood entry at the door At the head of the wide formal stair way whose walls were plastered with announcements of committee meetings and addresses of political parties we passed through a series of lofty ante rooms hung with red shrouded pictures in gold frames to the splendid state salon with its magnificent cry tal lus res and gilded cor nices A low voiced hum of talk underlaid with the whir rin bass of a score of sewing machines filled the place Huge bolts of red and black cotton cloth were unrolled serpentining across the parqueted floor and over tables at which sat half a hundred women cutting and sewing streamers and banners for the Funeral of the Revolution ary Dead The faces of these women were roughened and sc rred with life at its most difficult they worked now sternly many of them with eyes red from weeping The losses of the Red Army had been heavy

At a desk in one corner was Rogov an intelligent

upright on the box of his little sleigh How much to the centre of the town?

He scratched his head The *barini* won t be able to find a room in any hotel he said But I ll take you around for a hundred rubles Before the Revolution it cost *two!* We objected but he simply shrugged his shoulders It takes a good deal of courage to drive a sleigh now adays he went on We could not beat him down below fifty As we sped along the silent snowy half lighted streets he recounted his adventures during the six days fighting Driving along or waiting for a fare on the corner he said all of a sudden *pooff!* a cannon ball exploding here *pooff!* a cannon ball there *ratt ratt!* a machine gun I gallop the devils shooting all around I get to a nice quiet street and stop doze a little *pooff!* another cannon ball *ratt ratt* Devils! Devils! Devils! Brrr!

In the centre of the town the snow piled streets were quiet with the stillness of convalescence Only a few arc lights were burning only a few pedestrians hurried along the side walks An icy wind blew from the great plain cutting to the bone At the first hotel we entered an office illuminated by two candles

Yes we have some very comfortable rooms but all the windows are shot out If the *gospodin* does not mind a little fresh air

Down the Tverskaya the shop windows were broken and there were shell holes and torn up paving stones in the street Hotel after hotel all full or the proprietors still so frightened that all they could say was No no there is no room! There is no room! On the main streets where the great banking houses and mercantile houses lay the Bolshevik artillery had been indiscriminately effective As one Soviet official told me Whenever we didn t know

Районъ № ......

Ф и Г ...... Отчес ...... Н в ......

Домовый Н гк № ......

...... кв ......

Адресъ ......

Полъ	Возрастъ	ИМѢЮТСЯ ЗАПАСЫ				
		Тканей	Арш	Готовыхъ вещей		Шт
		Бѣльевыхъ	......	Пальто	зимнихъ	......
Средній мѣсячный					лѣтнихъ и	
Доходъ	Расходъ:	Легк платьевыхъ (для костюмовъ)	......		осеннихъ	......
				Платьевъ и костюм		......
		Тяж платьевыхъ (для пальто)	......	Смѣнъ бѣлья		......
Мѣсячн.	плата			Паръ обуви		......
За квартиру	За комнату	Прочихъ сортовъ	......	Паръ галошъ		......

Даю подписку въ томъ что показанныя свѣдѣнія вѣрны и что карточекъ въ другомъ мѣстѣ не получалъ.

Москва, ... дня 191 г.

Подпись ......

Подпись квартиронанимателя

№ ...... кор ......

bearded man with glasses wearing the black blouse of a worker He invited us to march with the Central Executive Committee in the funeral procession next morning

It is impossible to teach the Socialist Revolutionaries and the Mensheviki anything! he exclaimed They compromise from sheer habit Imagine! They proposed that we hold a joint funeral with the *yunkers!*

Across the hall came a man in a ragged soldier-coat and *shapka* whose face was familiar I recognised Melnichansky whom I had known as the watch maker George Melcher in Bayonne New Jersey during the great Standard Oil strike Now he told me he was secretary of the Moscow Metal Workers Union and a Commissar of the Military Revolutionary Committee during the fighting

You see me! he cried showing his decrepit clothing I was with the boys in the Kremlin when the *yunkers* came the first time They shut me up in the cellar and swiped my overcoat my money watch and even the ring on my finger This is all I ve got to wear!

From him I learned many details of the bloody six-day battle which had rent Moscow in two Unlike in Petrograd in Moscow the City Duma had taken command of the *yunkers* and White Guards Rudnev the Mayor and Minor president of the Duma * had directed the activities of the Committee of Public Safety and the troops Riabtsev Commandant of the city a man of democratic in

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE BOURGEOISIE

Distributed to all bourgeois households in Moscow by the Moscow Military Revolutionary Committee so as to provide a basis for the requisition of clothing for the Army and the poor workers For translation see Note 3 p 343

* Both were l d rs of the Soci l t R olution ry Party —Ed.

amateur presentations of the latest French comedy had once taken place

At first the place filled with the intellectuals—those who lived near the centre of the town Nogin spoke and most of his listeners were plainly with him It was very late before the workers arrived the working-class quarters were on the outskirts of the town and no street-cars were running But about midnight they began to clump up the stairs in groups of ten or twenty—big rough men in coarse clothes fresh from the battle line where they had fought like devils for a week seeing their comrades fall all about them

Scarcely had the meeting formally opened before Nogin was assailed with a tempest of jeers and angry shouts In vain he tried to argue to explain they would not listen He had left the Council of People s Commissars he had *deserted his post while the battle was raging* As for the bourgeois press here in Moscow there was no more bourgeois press even the City Duma had been dissolved [4] Bukharin stood up savage logical with a voice which plunged and struck plunged and struck Him they listened to with shining eyes Resolution to support the action of the Council of People s Commissars passed by overwhelming majority So spoke Moscow

Late in the night we went through the empty streets and under the Iberian Gate to the great Red Square in front of the Kremlin The church of Vasili Blazheny loomed fantastic its bright-coloured convoluted and blasoned cupolas vague in the darkness There was no sign of any damage Along one side of the square the dark towers and walls of the Kremlin stood up On the high walls flickered redly the light of hidden flames voice reached us across the immense place and the sound of picks and shovels We crossed over

stincts had hesitated about opposing the Military Revolutionary Committee but the Duma had forced him It was the Mayor who had urged the occupation of the Kremlin They will never dare fire on you there he said

One garrison regiment badly demoralised by long inactivity had been approached by both sides The regiment held a meeting to decide what action to take Resolved that the regiment remain neutral and continue its present activities—which consisted in peddling rubbers and sunflower seeds!

But worst of all said Melnichansky we had to organise while we were fighting The other side knew just what it wanted but here the soldiers had their Soviet and the workers theirs There was a fearful wrangle over who should be Commander in chief some regiments talked for days before they decided what to do and when the officers suddenly deserted us we had no battle staff to give orders

Vivid little pictures he gave me On a cold grey day he had stood at a corner of the Nikitskaya which was swept by blasts of machine gun fire A throng of little boys were gathered there—street waifs who used to be newsboys Shrill excited as if with a new game they waited until the firing slackened and then tried to run across the street Many were killed but the rest dashed backward and forward laughing daring each other

Late in the evening I went to the *Dvorianskoye Sobranie* —the Nobles Club—where the Moscow Bolsheviki were to meet and consider the report of Nogin Rykov and the others who had left the Council of People s Commissars

The meeting place was a theatre in which under the old regime to audiences of officers and glittering ladies

Mountains of dirt and rock were piled hi_gh near the base of the wall Climbin_g these we looked down into two massive pits ten or fifteen feet deep and fifty yards lon where hundreds of soldiers and workers were digging in the li ht of hu_ge fires

A youn_g student spoke to us in German The Brotherhood Grave h explained To-morrow we shall bury here five hundred proletarians who died for the Revolution

He took us down into the pit In frantic haste swung the picks and shovels and the earth mountains grew No one spoke Overhead the night was thick with stars and the ancient Imperial Kremlin wall towered up immeasurably

Here in this holy place said the student, holiest of all Russia we shall bury our most holy Here where are the tombs of the Tsars our Tsar—the People—shall sleep His arm was in a slin_g from a bullet wound gained in the fi htin_g He looked at it You foreigners look down on us Russians because so lon_g we tolerated a med æval monarchy said he But we saw that the Tsar was not the only tyrant in th world capitalism was worse and in all the countries of the world capitalism was Emperor Russian revolutionary tactics are best

As we left, the workers in the pit exhausted and runnin_g with sweat in spite of the cold began to climb

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TO THE COMMANDANT OF THE CITY OF MOSCOW

By th s the Mil tary Revolut onary Committee requests to give a p ss for the purpose of investigating the Kreml to the representati es of the Amer can Socialist party attached to the Sociali t press comrades Reed and Bryant

Chief of the Military Revolu ionary Comm ttee
For the Secretary

Военно Революціонный Комитетъ
при
Московскомъ Совѣтѣ
Рабочихъ и Солдатскихъ
Депутатовъ.

МОСКВА, Тверская,
домъ Генералъ Губернатора

Ноября 10 дня 1917 г.
№ 2092

КОМЕНДАНТУ ГОРОДА МОСКВЫ

Настоящимъ Военно революціонный Комитетъ проситъ выдать пропуска для осмотра Кремля представителямъ Американской Соціалистической партіи при Соціалистической прессѣ тов Ридъ и Браянтъ



Военно революціоннаго Комитета

Секретарь

Pass to the Kremlin issued by the Moscow Military Revolutionary Committee just after the capture of the Kremlin by the Bolsheviki

TRANSLATION

Military Revolutionary Committee
attached to the
Moscow Soviet of
Workers and Soldiers
Deputies
Moscow Tverskaya
House of the former
Governor General
November 10 1917
No 2092

politan of Moscow was soon to excommunicate the Soviets

Also the shops were closed and the propertied classes stayed at home—but for other reasons This was the Day of the People the rumour of whose coming was thunder ous as surf

Already through the Iberian Gate a human river was flowing and the vast Red Square was spotted with people thousands of them I remarked that as the throng passed the Iberian Chapel where always before the passerby had crossed himself they did not seem to notice it

We forced our way through the dense mass packed near the Kremlin wall and stood upon one of the dirt mountains Already several men were there among them Muranov the soldier who had been elected Commandant of Moscow—a tall simple looking bearded man with a gentle face

Through all the streets to the Red Square the torrents of people poured thousands upon thousands of them all with the look of the poor and the toiling A military band came marching up playing the *Internationale* and spon taneously the song caught and spread like wind ripples on a sea slow and solemn From the top of the Kremlin wall gigantic banners unrolled to the ground red with great letters in gold and in white saying Martyrs of the Be ginning of World Social Revolution and Long Live the Brotherhood of Workers of the World

A bitter wind swept the Square lifting the banners Now from the far quarters of the city the workers of the dif ferent factories were arriving with their dead They could be seen coming through the Gate the blare of their banners and the dull red—like blood—of the coffins they carried These were rude boxes made of unplaned wood and daubed with crimson borne high on the shoulders

wearily out Across the Red Square a dark knot of men came hurrying They swarmed into the pits picked up the tools and began digging digging without a word

So, all the long night volunteers of the People relieved each other never halting in their driving speed and the cold light of the dawn laid bare the great Square white with snow and the yawning brown pits of the Brotherhood Grave quite finished

We rose before sunrise and hurried through the dark streets to Skobelev Square In all the great city not a human being could be seen but there was a faint sound of stirring far and near like a deep wind coming In the pale half light a little group of men and women were gathered before the Soviet headquarters with a sheaf of gold lettered red banners—the Central Executive Committee of the Moscow Soviets It grew light From afar the vague stirring sound deepened and became louder a steady and tremendous bass The city was rising We set out down the Tverskaya the banners flapping overhead The little street chapels along our way were locked and dark as was the Chapel of the Iberian Virgin which each new Tsar used to visit before he went to the Kremlin to crown himself and which day or night was always open and crowded and brilliant with the candles of the devout gleaming on the gold and silver and jewels of the ikons Now for the first time since Napoleon was in Moscow they say the candles were out

The Holy Orthodox Church had withdrawn the light of its countenance from Moscow the nest of irreverent vipers who had bombarded the Kremlin Dark and silent and cold were the churches the priests had disappeared There were no popes to officiate at the Red Burial there had been no sacrament for the dead nor were any prayers to be said over the grave of the blasphemers Tikhon Metro-

hope and brotherhood and stupendous prophecies a_ainst a back ground of fifty thousand people —under the eyes of the world s workers and their descendants forever

One by one the five hundred coffins were laid in the pits Dusk fell and still the banners came drooping and flutterin_ the band played the Funeral March and the hu e assembla_e chanted In the leafless branches of the trees above the grave the wreaths were hung like strange multi-coloured blossoms Two hundred men began to shovel in the dirt It rained dully down upon the coffins with a thudding sound audible beneath the singing

The lights came out The last banners passed and the last moanin_ women looking back with awful intensity as they went Slowly from the great Square ebbed the prole tarian tide

I suddenly realised that the devout Russian people no lon er needed priests to pray them into heaven On earth they were building a kingdom more bright than any heaven had to offer and for which it was a glory to die

NOTES TO CHAPTER X

1 D m g to the Kreml n

I myself rified th damage to the Kremlin which I visited mmedi tely after the bombardment The Little Nicolai Palace a build ng of o particular importance which was occupied occa s o lly by receptions of o e of the Grand Du hesses had served as barracks for the *y nk rs* It was not only bombarded but pretty well sacked fortunately there was nothing in it of particu lar historical value

Uspen ky Cath dral had a shell hole in one of the cupolas but xcept fo a few feet of mosaic in the ceiling was undamaged Th fresc e on the porch of Blagoveschensky Cathedral were badly d ma ed by a she l Another shell hit the corner of I an Vel ki Tchudo ky Monastery was hit about thirty times but

of rough men who marched with tears streaming down their faces and followed by women who sobbed and screamed or walked stiffly with white dead faces Some of the coffins were open the lid carried behind them others were covered with gilded or silvered cloth or had a soldier s hat nailed on the top There were many wreaths of hideous artificial flowers

Through an irregular lane that opened and closed again the procession slowly moved toward us Now through the Gate was flowing an endless stream of banners all shades of red with silver and gold lettering knots of crepe han ing from the top—and some Anarchist flags black with white letters The band was playing the Revolutionary Funeral March and against the immense singing of the mass of people standing uncovered, the paraders sang hoarsely, choked with sobs

Between the factory workers came companies of soldiers with their coffins too and squadrons of cavalry riding at salute and artillery batteries the cannon wound with red and black—forever it seemed Their banners said Long live the Third International! or We Want an Honest General Democratic Peace!

Slowly the marchers came with their coffins to the entrance of the grave and the bearers clambered up with their burdens and went down into the pit Many of them were women—squat strong proletarian women Behind the dead came other women—women young and broken, or old wrinkled women making noises like hurt animals who tried to follow their sons and husbands into the Brotherhood Grave and shrieked when compassionate hands restrained them The poor love each other so!

All the long day the funeral procession passed coming in by the Iberian Gate and leaving the Square by way of the Nikolskaya a river of red banners bearing words of

3 Questionnaire for the Bourgeoisie

Ward No. Address	Family Name Christian Name Profession			House Committee No.
Sex	Age	S ures H		
		Textiles	A h nas	Ready Made Clothes	Pieces
Monthly Average		For Underwear		Overcoats Winter Summer Fall Dresses and Suits Underwear Shoes Rubbers	
Income	Expenditures	For Suits			
		For Overcoats			
Monthly Rent					
Ap	Room	Other Kinds			

I the undersigned declare that the data given above is true and that I have not received this card elsewhere

Signature
(Signature of leaseholder)

Moscow 191
(Seal of the House Committee)

4 Revolutionary Financial Measure

Order

In virtue of the powers vested in me by the Military Revolutionary Committee attached to the Moscow Soviet of Workers and Soldiers Deputies I decree

1 All banks with branches the Central State Savings Bank with branches and the savings banks at the Post and Telegraph offices are to be opened beginning November 2 nd, from 11 A M to 1 P M until further order

2 On current accounts and on the books of the savings banks payments will be made by the above mentioned institutions of not more than 150 rubles for each depositor during the course of the next week

3 Payments of amounts exceeding 150 rubles a week on cur

only one shell went through a window into the interior the others breaking the brick window moulding and the roof-cornices

The clock over the Spasskaya Gate was smashed Troitsky Gate was battered but easily reparable One of the lower towers had lost its brick spire

The church of St Basil was untouched as was the great Imperial Palace with all the treasures of Moscow and Petrograd in its cellar and the crown jewels in the Treasury These places were not even entered

2 Lunacharsky s Declaration

Comrades! You are the young masters of the country and although now you have much to do and think about you must know how to defend your artistic and scientific treasures

Comrades! That which is happening at Moscow is a horrible irreparable misfortune The People in its struggle for the power has mutilated our glorious capital

It is particularly terrible in these days of violent struggle of destructive warfare to be Commissar of Public Education Only the hope of the victory of Socialism the source of a new and superior culture brings me comfort On me weighs the responsibility of protecting the artistic wealth of the people Not being able to remain at my post where I had no influence I resigned My comrades the other Commissars considered this resignation inadmissible I shall therefore remain at my post And moreover I understand that the damage done to the Kremlin is not as serious as has been reported

But I beg you comrades to give me your support Preserve for yourselves and your descendants the beauty of our land be the guardians of the property of the People

"Soon very soon even the most ignorant who have been held in ignorance so long will awake and understand what a source of joy strength and wisdom is art "

CHAPTER XI

THE CONQUEST OF POWER[1]

Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia[2]

The first Congress of Soviets in June of this year proclaimed the right of the peoples of Russia to self-determination.

The second Congress of Soviets in November last confirmed this inalienable right of the peoples of Russia more decisively and definitely

Executing the will of these Congresses the Council of People s Commissars has resolved to establish as a basis for its activity in the question of Nationalities the following principles

(1) The equality and sovereignty of the peoples of Russia

(2) The right of the peoples of Russia to free self-determination even to the point of separation and the formation of an independent state

(3) The abolition of any and all national and national religious privileges and disabilities

(4) The free development of national minorities and ethnographic groups inhabiting the territory of Russia

Decrees will be prepared immediately upon the formation of a Commission on Nationalities

In the name of the Russian Republic
People s Commissar for Nationalities
YUSSOV DJUGASHVILI STALIN
President of the Council of People s Commissars
V ULIANOV (LENIN)

rent accounts and savings banks books also payments on other accounts of all kinds will be allowed during the next three days —November ?2nd 23d and 24th only in the following cases

(a) On the accounts of military organisations for the satisfaction of their needs

(b) For the payment of salaries of employees and the earnings of workers according to the tables and lists certified by the Factory Committees or Soviets of Employees and attested by the signatures of the Commissars or the representatives of the Military Revolutionary Committee and the district Military Revolutionary Committees

4 Not more than 150 rubles are to be paid against drafts the remaining sums are to be entered on current account, payments on which are to be made in the order established by the present decree

5 All other banking operations are prohibited during these three days

6 The receipt of money on all accounts is allowed for any amount

7 The representatives of the Finance Council for the certification of the authorisations indicated in clause 3 will hold their office in the building of the Stock Exchange Ilyinka Street from 10 A M to 2 P M

8 The Banks and Savings Banks shall send the totals of daily cash operations by 5 P M to the headquarters of the Soviet, Skobelev Square to the Military Revolutionary Committee for the Finance Council

9 All employees and managers of credit institutions of all kinds who refuse to comply with this decree shall be responsible as enemies of the Revolution and of the mass of the population before the Revolutionary Tribunals Their names shall be published for general information

10 For the control of the operations of Branches of the Savings Banks and Banks within the limits of this decree the district Military Revolutionary Committees shall elect three representatives and appoint their place of business

Fully-authorised Commissar of the Military Revolutionary Committee

S SHEVERDIN MAKSIMENKO

controlled the economic life of the country settled down to organise disorganisation with all the Russian genius for cooperative action—*to obstruct* cripple and discredit the Soviets

The strike of Government employees was well organised financed by the banks and commercial establishments Every move of the Bolsheviki to take over the Government apparatus was resisted

Trotsky went to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs the functionaries refused to recognise him locked themselves in, and when the doors were forced resigned He demanded the keys of the archives only when he brought workmen to force the locks were they given up Then it was discovered that Neratov former assistant Foreign Minister had disappeared with the Secret Treaties

Shliapnikov tried to take possession of the Ministry of Labour It was bitterly cold and there was no one to light the fires Of all the hundreds of employees not one would show him where the office of the Minister was

Alexandra Kollontai appointed the 13th of November Commissar of Public Welfare—the department of charities and public institutions—was welcomed with a strike of all but forty of the functionaries in the Ministry Immediately the poor of the great cities the inmates of institutions were plunged in miserable want delegations of starving cripples of orphans with blue pinched faces besieged the building With tears streaming down her face Kollontai arrested the strikers until they should deliver the keys of the office and the safe when she got the keys however it was discovered that the former Minister Countess Panina, had gone off with all the funds which she refused to surrender except on the order of the Constituent Assembly

In the Ministry of Agriculture the Ministry of Sup-

The Central Rada at Kiev immediately declared Ukraine an independent Republic, as did the Government of Fin land through the Senate at Helsingfors Independent Governments spring up in Siberia and the Caucasus The Polish Chief Military Committee swiftly gathered to gether the Polish troops in the Russian army abolished their Committees and established an iron discipline

All these Governments and movements had two characteristics in common they were controlled by the propertied classes and they feared and detested Bolshe vism

Steadily amid the chaos of shocking change, the Coun cil of People s Commissars hammered at the scaffolding of the Socialist order Decree on Social Insurance on Work ers Control Regulations for Volost Land Committees Abolition of Ranks and Titles Abolition of Courts and the Creation of People s Tribunals [3]

Army after army fleet after fleet sent deputations joy fully to greet the new Government of the People

In front of Smolny one day I saw a ragged regiment just come from the trenches The soldiers were drawn up before the great gates thin and grey faced looking up at the building as if God were in it Some pointed out the Imperial eagles over the door laughing Red Guards came to mount guard All the soldiers turned to look curiously as if they had heard of them but never seen them They laughed good naturedly and pressed out of line to slap the Red Guards on the back with half joking half admiring remarks

The Provisional Government was no more On Novem ber 15th in all the churches of the capital the priests stopped praying for it But as Lenin himself told th *Tsay-ee kah* that was only the beginning of the conquest of power Deprived of arms the opposition which still

went on strike immediately and the Duma flooded Russia with tel grams about Bolshevik violation of Municipal autonomy

At Military headquarters and in the offices of the Ministries of War and Marine where the old officials had consented to work the Army Committees and the high command blocked the Soviets in every way possible even to the extent of neglecting the troops at the front. The *Vikzhel* was hostile refusing to transport Soviet troops every troop-train that left Petrograd was taken out by force and railway officials had to be arrested each time—whereupon the *Vikzhel* threatened an immediate general strike unless they were released

Smolny was plainly powerless The newspapers said that all the factories of Petrograd must shut down for lack of fuel in three weeks the *Vikzhel* announced that trains must cease running by December first there was food for three days only in Petrograd and no more coming in and the Army on the Front was starving The Committee for Salvation the various Central Committees sent word all over the country exhorting the population to ignore the Government decrees And the Allied Embassies were either coldly indifferent or openly hostile

The opposition newspapers suppressed one day and reappearing next morning under new names heaped bitter sarcasm on the new regime [5] Even *Novaya Zhizn* characterised it as a combination of demagoguery and impotence

From day to day (it said) the Government of the People s Commissars sinks deeper and deeper into the mire of superficial haste Having easily conquered the power the Bolsheviki can not make use of it

Powerless to direct the existing mechanism of Govern

plies the Ministry of Finance similar incidents occurred And the employees summoned to return or forfeit their positions and their pensions either stayed away or re turned to sabotage Almost all the *intelligentsia* be ing anti Bolshevik there was nowhere for the Soviet Gov ernment to recruit new staffs

The private banks remained stubbornly closed with a back door open for speculators When Bolshevik Com missars entered the clerks left secreting the books and removing the funds All the employees of the State Bank struck except the clerks in charge of the vaults and the manufacture of money who refused all demands from Smolny and privately paid out huge sums to the Com mittee for Salvation and the City Duma

Twice a Commissar with a company of Red Guards came formally to insist upon the delivery of large sums for Government expenses The first time the City Duma mem bers and the Menshevik and Socialist Revolutionary leaders were present in imposing numbers and spoke so gravely of the consequences that the Commissar was frightened The second time he arrived with a warrant which he proceeded to read aloud in due form but some one called his atten tion to the fact that it had no date and no seal and the traditional Russian respect for documents forced him again to withdraw

The officials of the Credit Chancery destroyed their books so that all record of the financial relations of Russia with foreign countries was lost

The Supply Committees the administrations of the Municipal owned public utilities either did not work at all or sabotaged And when the Bolsheviki compelled by the desperate needs of the city population attempted to help or to control the public service all the employees

news from Moscow where our comrades are dying on both sides of the barricades determines us to bring up once more the question of organisation of power and it is not only our right to do so but our duty We have won the right to sit with the Bolsheviki here within the walls of Smolny Institute and to speak from this tribune After the bitter internal party struggle we shall be obliged, if you refuse to compromise to pass to open battle outside We must propose to the democracy terms of an acceptable compromise "

After a recess to consider this ultimatum the Bolsheviki returned with a resolution read by Kamenev

The *Tsay ee kah* considers it necessary that there enter into the Government representatives of *all the Socialist parties composing the Soviets of Workers' Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies who recognise the conquests of the Revolution of November 7th—that is to say the establishment of a Government of Soviets the decrees on peace land workers' control over industry and the arming of the working-class* The *Tsay-ee kah* therefore resolves to propose negotiations concerning the constitution of the Government to all parties *of the Soviet* and insists upon the following conditions as a basis

The Government is responsible to the *Tsay ee kah* The *Tsay-ee kah* shall be enlarged to 150 members To these 150 delegates of the Soviets of Workers and Soldiers Deputies shall be added 75 delegates of the Provincial Soviets of Peasants Deputies 80 from the Front organisations of the Army and Navy 40 from the Trade Unions (25 *from the* various All Russian Unions in proportion to their importance 10 from the *Vikzhel* and 5 from the Post and Telegraph Workers) and 50 delegates from the Socialist groups in the Petrograd City Duma In the Ministry itself at least one half the portfolios must be reserved to the Bolsheviki The Ministries of Labour Interior and Foreign Affairs must be given to

ment they are unable at the same time to create a new one which might work easily and freely according to the theories of social experimenters

Just a little while ago the Bolsheviki hadn t enough men to run their growing party—a work above all of speakers and writers where then are they going to find trained men to execute the diverse and complicated functions of govern ment?

The new Government acts and threatens it sprays the country with decrees each one more radical and more socialist than the last But in this exhibition of Socialism on Paper—more likely designed for the stupefaction of our descendants—there appears neither the desire nor the capacity to solve the immediate problems of the day!

Meanwhile the *Vikzhel s* Conference to Form a New Government continued to meet night and day Both sides had already agreed in principle to the basis of the Govern ment the composition of the People s Council was being discussed the Cabinet was tentatively chosen with Cher nov as Premier the Bolsheviki were admitted in a large minority but Lenin and Trotsky were barred The Central Committees of the Menshevik and Socialist Revolutionary parties the Executive Committee of the Peasants Soviets resolved that although unalterably opposed to the crimi nal politics of the Bolsheviki they would in order to halt the fratricidal bloodshed not oppose their entrance into the People s Council

The flight of Kerensky however and the astounding success of the Soviets everywhere altered the situation On the 16th in a meeting of the *Tsay-ee Kah* the Left Social ist Revolutionaries insisted that the Bolsheviki should form a coalition Government with the other Socialist parties otherwise they would withdraw from the Military Revolu tionary Committee and the *Tsay ee Kah* Malkin said "The

Later at a meeting of the Petrograd Soviet Trotsky answered a question about the formation of the new Government

I don t know anything about that I am not taking part in the negotiations However I dont think that they are of great importance

That night there was great uneasiness in the Conference The delegates of the City Duma withdrew

But at Smolny itself in the ranks of the Bolshevik party a formidable opposition to Lenin s policy was growing On the night of November 17th the great hall was packed and ominous for the meeting of the *Tsay-ee kah*

Larin Bolshevik declared that the moment of elections to the Constituent Assembly approached and it was time to do away with political terrorism

The measures taken against the freedom of the press should be modified They had their reason during the stru gle but now they have no further excuse The press should be free except for appeals to riot and insurrection.

In a storm of hisses and hoots from his own party Larin offered the following resolution

The decree of the Council of People s Commissars concernin the Press is herewith repealed

Measures of political repression can only be employed subject to decision of a special tribunal elected by the *Tsay-ee kah* proportionally to the strength of the different parties represented and this tribunal shall have the right also to reconsider measures of repression already taken.

This was met by a thunder of applause not only from the Left Socialist Revolutionaries but also from a part of the Bolsheviki

Avanesov for the Leninites hastily proposed that the

the Bolsheviki The command of the garrisons of Petrograd and Moscow must remain in the hands of delegates of the Moscow and Petrograd Soviets

The Government undertakes the systematic arming of the *workers of all Russia*

It is resolved to insist upon the candidature of comrades Lenin and Trotsky

Kamenev explained The so called People s Council he said proposed by the Conference would consist of about 420 members of which about 150 would be Bolsheviki Besides there would be delegates from the counter revolutionary old *Tsay ee kah* 100 members chosen by the Municipal Dumas—Kornilovtsi all 100 delegates from the Peasants Soviets—appointed by Avksentiev and 80 from the old Army Committees who no longer represent the soldier masses

We refuse to admit the old *Tsay ee kah* and also the representatives of the Municipal Dumas The delegates from the Peasants Soviets shall be elected by the Congress of Peasants which we have called and which will at the same time elect a new Executive Committee The proposal to exclude Lenin and Trotsky is a proposal to decapitate our party and we do not accept it And finally we see no necessity for a People s Council anyway the Soviets are open to all Socialist parties and the *Tsay-ee kah* represents them in their real proportions among the masses

Karelin for the Left Socialist Revolutionaries declared that his party would vote for the Bolshevik resolution reserving the right to modify certain details such as the representation of the peasants and demanding that the Ministry of Agriculture be reserved for the Left Socialist Revolutionaries This was agreed to

dictated by pe ty bourgeois prejudices or by evident sur render to the interests of the counter revolutionary bour geoisie

Th r ading of this resolution was interrupted by ironi cal shouts from the Left Socialist Revolutionaries and bursts of indignation from the insurgent Bolsheviki Karelin was on his feet protesting "Three weeks ago the Bol sheviki were the most ardent defenders of the freedom of the Press The arguments in this resolution suggest singularly th point of view of the old Black Hundreds and the censors of the Tsarist régime—for they also talked of poisoners of the mind of the people "

Trotsky spoke at length in favour of the resolution He distinguished between the Press during the civil war and the Press after the victory During civil war the right to use violence belongs only to the oppressed (Cries of Who s the oppressed now? Cannibal!)

The victory over our adversaries is not yet achieved and the newspapers are arms in their hands In these con ditions the closing of the newspapers is a legitimate meas ure of defence Th n passing to the question of the Press after the victory Trotsky continued

The attitud of Socialists on the question of freedom of the Press should be the same as th ir attitude toward the freedom of business The rule of the democracy which is being established in Russia demands that the domination of the Press by private property must be abolished just as the domination of industry by private property The power of the Soviets should confiscate all printing plants (Cries Confiscate the printing shop of *Pravda*")

"The monopoly of the Press by the bourgeoisie must be abolished Otherwise it isn t worth while for us to take

question of the Press be postponed until after some com promise between the Socialist parties had been reached Overwhelmingly voted down

The revolution which is now being accomplished" went on Avanesov, has not hesitated to attack private property and it is as private property that we must examine the question of the Press

Thereupon he read the official Bolshevik resolution

The suppression of the bourgeois press was dictated not only by purely military needs in the course of the insurrection and for the checking of counter revolutionary action but it is also necessary as a measure of transition toward the establishment of a new regime with regard to the Press—a régime under which the capitalist owners of printing presses and of paper cannot be the all powerful and exclusive manufac turers of public opinion

We must further proceed to the confiscation of private print ing plants and supplies of paper which should become the property of the Soviets both in the capital and in the provinces so that the political parties and groups can make use of the facilities of printing in proportion to the actual strength of the ideas they represent—in other words proportionally to the number of their constituents

The reestablishment of the so-called freedom of the press the simple return of printing presses and paper to the capitalists —poisoners of the mind of the people—this would be an inadmissible surrender to the will of capital a giving up of one of the most important conquests of the Revolution in other words it would be a measure of un questionably counter revolutionary character

Proceeding from the above the *Tsay ee kah* categorically rejects all propositions aiming at the reestablishment of the old regime in the domain of the Press and unequivocally supports the point of view of the Council of People s Com missars on this question against pretentions and ultimatums

the Press from the other questions of the class struggl We have promised to close these newspapers and we shall do it The immense majority of the people is with us!

Now that the insurrection is over we have absolutely no desire to suppress the papers of the other Socialist parties except inasmuch as they appeal to armed insurrection or to disobedience to the Soviet Government However we shall not permit them under the pretence of freedom of the Socialist press to obtain through the secret support of the bourgeoisie a monopoly of printing presses ink and paper These essentials must become the property of the Soviet Government and be apportioned first of all to the Socialist parties in strict proportion to their voting strength *

Then the vote The resolution of Larin and the Left Socialist Revolutionaries was defeated by 31 to 22 the Lenin motion was carried by 34 to 24 Among the minority were the Bolsheviki Riazanov and Lozovsky who declared that it was impossible for them to vote against any restriction on the freedom of the Press

Upon this the Left Socialist Revolutionaries declared they could no longer be responsible for what was being done and withdrew from the Military Revolutionary Committee and all other positions of executive responsibility

Five members—Nogin Rykov Miliutin Teodorovich and Shliapnikov—resigned from the Council of People s Commissars declaring

We are in favour of a Socialist Government composed of all the parties in the Soviets We consider that only the creation of such a Government can possibly guarantee the results of the heroi strug le of the working-class and the revolution

For som ason he peech as port d by Reed diff rs cons d bly f om the rsion (it (be fou d in Lenin W ks Reed rs on is m coherent and log al d less menacing than the ginal.—Ed

the power! Each group of citizens should have access to printshops and paper The ownership of print type and of paper belongs first to the workers and peasants and only afterwards to the bourgeois parties which are in a minority The passing of the power into the hands of the Soviets will bring about a radical transformation of the essential conditions of existence and this transformation will necessarily be evident in the Press If we are going to nationalise the banks can we then tolerate the financial journals? The old regime must die that must be understood once and for all ' Applause and angry cries

Karelin declared that the *Tsay ee kah* had no right to pass upon this important question which should be left to a special committee Again passionately he demanded that the Press be free

Then Lenin calm unemotional his forehead wrinkled as he spoke slowly choosing his words each sentence falling like a hammer blow The civil war is not yet finished the enemy is still with us consequently it is impossible to abolish the measures of repression against the Press

We Bolsheviki have always said that when we reached a position of power we would close the bourgeois press To tolerate the bourgeois newspapers would mean to cease being a Socialist When one makes a Revolution one cannot mark time one must always go forward—or go back He who now talks about the freedom of the Press goes backward and halts our headlong course toward Socialism

We have thrown off the yoke of capitalism just as the first revolution threw off the yoke of Tsarism *If the first revolution had the right to suppress the Monarchist papers* then we have the right to suppress the bourgeois press It is impossible to separate the question of the freedom of

We leave the Central Committee at the moment of victory we cannot calmly look on while the policy of the chiefs of the Central Committee leads toward the loss of the fruits of victory and the crushing of the proletariat

The masses of the workers the soldiers of the garrison, stirred restlessly sending their delegations to Smolny to the Conference for Formation of the New Government where the break in the ranks of the Bolsheviki caused the liveliest joy

But th answer of the Leninites was swift and ruthless Shliapnikov and Teodorovich submitted to party discipline and returned to their posts Kamenev was stripped of his powers as president of the *Tsay-ee kah* and Sverdlov elected in his place Zinoviev was deposed as president of the Petrograd Soviet On the morning of the 5th *Pravda* contained a ferocious proclamation to the people of Russia writ en by Lenin which was printed in hundreds of thousands of copies posted on the walls everywhere and distributed over the face of Russia

The se ond All Russian Congress of Soviets gave the ma jority to the Bolshevik party Only a Government formed by this party can therefore be a Soviet Government And it is known to all that the Central Committee of the Bolshevik party a few hours before the formation of the new Govern ment and before proposing the list of its members to the All Russian Congress of Soviets invited to its meeting three of the most eminent members of the Left Socialist Revolu tionary group comrades Kamkov Spiro and Karelin and ASKED THEM to parti ipa e in the new Government. We re gret infinitely that the invited comrades refused we consider their refusal inadmissible for revolutionists and champions of the working-class we are willing at any time to include the Left Socialist Revolutionaries in the Government but we decl re that, as the party of the majority at the second All

ary army Outside of that there remains only one way the constitution of a purely Bolshevik Government by means of political terrorism This last is the road taken by the Council of People s Commissars We cannot and will not follow it We see that this leads directly to the elimination from political life of many proletarian organisations to the establishment of an irresponsible regime and to the destruction of the Revolution and the country We cannot take the responsibility for such a policy and we renounce before the *Tsay-ee kah* our function as People s Commissars

Other Commissars without resigning their positions signed the declaration—Riazanov Derbychev of the Press Department Arbuzov of the Government Printing plan Yurenev of the Red Guard Feodorov of the Commissariat of Labour and Larin secretary of the Section of Elaboration of Decrees

At the same time Kamenev Rykov Miliutin Zinoviev and Nogin resigned from the Central Committee of the Bolshevik party making public their reasons

The constitution of such a Government (composed of all the parties of the Soviet) is indispensable to prevent a new flow of blood the coming famine the destruction of the Revolution by the Kaledinists to assure the convocation of the Constituent Assembly at the proper time and to apply effectively the programme adopted by the Congress of Soviets

We cannot accept the responsibility for the disastrous policy of the Central Committee carried on against the will of an enormous majority of the proletariat and the soldiers who are eager to see the rapid end of the bloodshed between the different political parties of the democracy We renounce our title as members of the Central Committee in order to be able to say openly our opinion to the masses of workers and soldiers

which are PRACTICALLY only supported by Kornilovists Savinkovists yunkers and so forth

The response from the whole country was like a blast of hot storm. The insurgents never got a chance to "say openly their opinion of the masses of workers and soldiers Upon the *Tsay-ee-kah* rolled in like breakers the fierce popular condemnation of the deserters For days Smolny was thronged with angry delegations and committees from the front from the Volga from the Petrograd factories Why did they dare leave the Government? Were they paid by the bourgeoisie to destroy the Revolution? They must return and submit to the decisions of the Central Committee!

Only in the Petrograd garrison was there still uncertainty A great soldier meeting was held on November 24th addressed by representatives of all the political parties By a vast majority Lenin s policy was sustained and the Left Socialist Revolutionaries were told that they must enter the government *See page 363*

The Mensheviki delivered a final ultimatum demanding that all Ministers and *yunkers* be released that all newspapers be allowed full freedom that the Red Guard be disarmed and the garrison put under command of the Duma To this Smolny answered that all the Socialist Ministers and also all but a very few *yunkers* had been *already set free* that all newspapers were free except the bourgeois press and that the Soviet would remain in command of the armed forces On the 19th the Conference to Form a New Government disbanded and the opposition one by one slipped away to Moghilev where under the wing of the General Staff they continued to

Th full is to be found in Lenin, W ks V l. XXVI, pp 269 79.—Ed.

Russian Congress of Soviets we are entitled and BOUND before the people to form a Government

Comrades! Several members of the Central Committee of our party and the Council of Peoples Commissars Kamenev Zinoviev Nogin Rykov Miliutin and a few others left yesterday November 17th the Central Committee of our party and the last three the Council of Peoples Commissars

The comrades who left us acted like deserters because they not only abandoned the posts entrusted to them but also disobeyed the direct instructions of the Central Committee of our party to the effect that they should await the decisions of the Petrograd and Moscow party organisations before retiring We blame decisively such desertion We are firmly convinced that all conscious workers soldiers and peasants belonging to our party or sympathising with it will also disapprove of the behaviour of the deserters

Remember comrades that two of these deserters Kamenev and Zinoviev even before the uprising in Petrograd appeared as deserters and strike breakers by voting at the decisive meeting of the Central Committee October 23d 1917 against the insurrection and even AFTER the resolution passed by the Central Committee they continued their campaign at a meeting of the party workers But the great impulse of the masses the great heroism of millions of *workers soldiers and peasants in Moscow* Petrograd at the front in the trenches in the villages pushed aside the deserters as a railway train scatters saw dust

Shame upon those who are of little faith who hesitate who doubt who allow themselves to be frightened by the bourgeoisie or who succumb before the cries of the latter's direct or indirect accomplices! There is NOT A SHADOW of hesitation in the MASSES of Petrograd Moscow and the rest of Russia

We shall not submit to any ultimatums from small groups of intellectuals which are not followed by the masses

КЪ ВОПРОСУ О СОГЛАШЕНІИ.

Вниманію всѣхъ рабочихъ и всѣхъ солдатъ

11-го Ноября въ клубѣ Преображенскаго полка состоялось [illegible] собраніе представителей всѣхъ частей Петроградскаго гарнизона. [illegible]

[illegible]

На собраніи были [illegible] представители Центральнаго Исполнительнаго Комитета Совѣтовъ, [illegible] всѣхъ политическихъ партій [illegible]

[illegible]

Вотъ [illegible] резолюція, принятая [illegible] этимъ собраніемъ Петроградскаго гарнизона 61 голосомъ противъ 1 при 12 воздержавшихся:

Гарнизонное собраніе, созванное по иниціативѣ Преображенскаго и Семеновскаго полковъ, выслушавъ представителей всѣхъ соціалистическихъ партій и общественныхъ организацій по вопросу о соглашеніи политическихъ партій, находитъ, что:

1) Представители Центральнаго Исполнительнаго Комитета Совѣтовъ (2-го созыва), представители партіи большевиковъ и лѣвыхъ эс-эровъ опредѣленно заявили, что они за власть Совѣтовъ, за декреты о землѣ, мирѣ и контролѣ надъ производствомъ и что на этой платформѣ они допускаютъ соглашеніе соціалистическихъ партій.

2) Въ то же время представители другихъ партій (эс-эровъ и меньшевиковъ) или не дали отвѣта или прямо заявили, что они противъ Совѣтской власти и противъ декретовъ о землѣ, мирѣ и контролѣ.

Въ виду чего собраніе постановляетъ:

1) [illegible]

2) [illegible]

[illegible] Народнаго Правительства.

С вѣдѣніе представителей ... частей II тр(Пе)троградскаго гарни(зона).

[illegible]

Announcement posted on the walls of Petrograd of the result of a meeting of representatives of the garrison regiments called to consider the question of forming a new Government. For translation see Note 6, p. 387

form Government after Government until the end *

Meanwhile the Bolsheviki had been undermining the power of the *Vikzhel* An appeal of the Petrograd Soviet to all railway workers called upon them to force the *Vikzhel* to surrender its powers On the 15th the *Tsay ee kah* following its procedure toward the peasants called an All Russian Congress of Railway Workers for December 1st the *Vikzhel* immediately called its own Congress for two weeks later On November 16th the *Vikzhel* members took their seats in the *Tsay ee kah* On the night of December 2d at the opening session of the All Russian Congress of Railway Workers the *Tsay ee kah* formally offered the post of Commissar of Ways and Communications to the *Vikzhel*—which accepted **

Having settled the question of power the Bolsheviki turned their attention to problems of practical administration First of all the city the country the Army must be fed Bands of sailors and Red Guards scoured the warehouses the railway terminals even the barges in the canals unearthing and confiscating thousands of *poods****

* The ultimatum was a demand drafted by M rto a d Ab m h th t real negotiations for an all socialist government required the ston 3 of the t ror gain t the other socialist parties and the press R d is mist ke the matter of slipping away to Moghile No e of the le d a nb x tor fo the Menshe k Intern t on l ts nor of any other gro p th t nt d ser o ly t to the egot t o s w nt to Moghilev —*Ed*

** The Bolshevik d d not succeed in winning *Vikzhel* and the R l y Union in the form Reed rel te At the Extraordinary All R ssi n Congress of Railwaymen held in January 1918 *Vikzhel* secured a small majority (273-261) which favored the Constituent Assembly a ag in t a government by the Bolshevik controlled Soviet The minority s ppo ting the B l he k t bolted nd formed an All Russian Executive Committee of Railwaymen (*Vikzheldor*) consisting of 25 Bolshevik 12 Left SRs a d th ee Social Democrat Internationalists The government then recognized the sp t q organization nd began to use dm tr ti e nd terror measures against the majority union It w f om *Vikzheldor* th t Rogo w s med Commissar of Ways and Communication Then seco d Commissar Nevsky made it a d um rate On March 6 1918 the control of the railways was taken away from the new organization and those railroads where the old union still controlled were put under military dictatorship —*Ed*

*** A *pood* is thirty-six pounds.

and by executive order the wine-cellars were invaded by Committees with hatchets who smashed the bottles—or blew them up with dynamite

Companies of Red Guards disciplined and well paid were on duty at the headquarters of the Ward Soviets day and night, replacin, the old Militia In all quarters of the city small elective Revolutionary Tribunals were set up by the workers and soldiers to deal with petty crime

Th great hotels where the speculators still did a thriv in, business were surrounded by Red Guards and the speculators thrown into jail[8]

Alert and suspicious the working-class of the city con stituted itself a vast spy system through the servants pry ing into bourgeoi households and reporting all informa tion to the Military Revolutionary Committee which struck with an iron hand unceasing In this way was discovered the Monarchist plot led by former Duma member Pur ishkevich and a group of nobles and officers who had planned an officers uprisin, and had written a letter in viting Kaledin to Petrograd[9] In this way was un earth d the conspiracy of the Petrograd Cadets who were sendin, money and recruits to Kaledin

Neratov frightened at the outburst of popular fury pro voked by his flight returned and surrendered the Secret Treaties to Trotsky who began their publication in *Pravda* scandali ing the world

The restrictions on the Press were increased by a de cree[10] making advertisements a monopoly of the official Government newspaper At this all the other papers sus pended publication as a protest, or disobeyed the law and were closed Only three weeks later did they finally submit

Still the strike of the Ministri s went on still the sabo tage of the old officials the stoppage of normal economic

of food held by private speculators Emissaries were sent to the provinces where with the assistance of the Land Committees they seized the store houses of the great grain dealers Expeditions of sailors heavily armed were sent out in groups of five thousand to the South to Siberia, with roving commissions to capture cities still held by the White Guards establish order and *get food* Passenger traffic on the Trans-Siberian Railroad was suspended for two weeks, while thirteen trains loaded with bolts of cloth and bars of iron assembled by the Factory Shop Committees, were sent out eastward each in charge of a Commissar to barter with the Siberian peasants for grain and potatoes

Kaledin being in possession of the coal mines of the Don the fuel question became urgent Smolny shut off all electric lights in theatres shops and restaurants cut down the number of street cars and confiscated the private stores of fire wood held by the fuel dealers And when the factories of Petrograd were about to close down for lack of coal the sailors of the Baltic Fleet turned over to the workers two hundred thousand *poods* from the bunkers of battle ships

Toward the end of November occurred the wine pogroms [7]—looting of the wine-cellars—beginning with the plundering of the Winter Palace vaults For days there were drunken soldiers on the streets In all this was evident the hand of the counter revolutionists who distributed among the regiments plans showing the location of the stores of liquor The Commissars of Smolny began by pleading and arguing which did not stop the growing disorder followed by pitched battles between soldiers and Red Guards Finally the Military Revolutionary Committee sent out companies of sailors with machine guns who fired mercilessly upon the rioters, killing many,

life Behind Smolny was only the will of the vast un organised popular masses and with them the Council of People s Commissars dealt directing revolutionary mass action against its enemies In eloquent proclamations[1] couched in simple words and spread over Russia Lenin explained the Revolution urged the people to take the power in o their own hands by force to break down the resistance of the propertied classes by force to take over the institutions of Government Revolutionary order Revolutionary discipline! Strict accounting and control! No strikes! No loafing!

On the 20th of November the Military Revolutionary Committee issued a warning

> The rich classes oppose the power of the Soviets—the Government of workers soldiers and peasants Their sympathisers halt the work of the employees of the Government and the Duma incite strikes in the banks try to interrupt communica ion by the railways the post and the telegraph
>
> We warn them that th y are playing with fire The country and the Army are threatened with famine To fight against it the regular functioning of all services is indispensable The Workers and Peasants Government is taking every measure to assure the country and the Army all that is necessary Opposition to these measures is a crime against the People We warn the rich classes and their sympathisers that if they do not cease their sabotage and their provocation in halting the transportation of food they will be the first to suffer They will be deprived of the right of receiving food All the reserves which they possess will be requisitioned The property of the principal criminals will be confiscated.
>
> We have done our duty in warning those who play with fire
>
> We are convinced that in case decisive measures become necessary we shall be solidly supported by all workers soldiers and peasants

ОБЯЗАТЕЛЬНОЕ ПОСТАНОВЛЕНІЕ.

1) Городъ Петроградъ объявленъ на осадномъ положеніи.

2) Всякія собранія, митинги сборища и т п на улицахъ и площадяхъ воспрещается

3) Попытки разгромовъ винныхъ погребовъ, складовъ, заводовъ, лавокъ магазиновъ частныхъ квартиръ и проч и т п будутъ прекращаемы пулеметнымъ огнемъ безъ всякаго предупрежденія

4) Домовымъ комитетамъ [illegible], дворникамъ и милиціи вмѣняется въ безусловную обязанность соблюдать самый строжайшій порядокъ въ домахъ, дворахъ и на улицахъ причемъ ворота и подъѣзды домовъ должны запираться въ 9 час. вечера и открываться въ 7 час. утра. Послѣ 9 час. вечера выпускать только жильцовъ подъ контролемъ домовыхъ комитетовъ.

5) Виновные въ раздачѣ, продажѣ или пріобрѣтеніи всякихъ спиртныхъ напитковъ а также въ нарушеніи пунктовъ 2 го и 4-го будутъ немедленно арестованы и подвергнуты самому тяжкому наказанію.

Петроградъ 6-го декабря, 3 часа ночи.

Комитетъ по борьбѣ съ погромами при Исполнительномъ Комитетѣ Совѣта Рабочихъ и Солдатскихъ Депутатовъ.

Bolshevik order A proclamation of the Committee to Fight against Pogroms attached to the Petrograd Soviet For translation see Note 11 p 392

On the 22d of November the walls of the city were placarded with a sheet headed EXTRAORDINARY COMMUNICATION

The Council of People s Commissars has received an urgent telegram from the Staff of the Northern Front.

"There must be no further delay do not let the Army die of hun er the armies of the Northern Front have not received a crust of bread now for several days and in two or three days they will not have any more biscuits—which are being doled out to them from reserve supplies until now never touched Already delegates from all parts of the Front are talking of a necessary removal of part of the Army to the rear foreseeing that in a few days there will be head long flight of the soldiers dying from hunger ravaged by the three years war in the trenches sick insufficiently clothed bare footed driven mad by superhuman misery

The Military Revolutionary Committee brings this to the notice of the Petrograd garrison and the workers of Petrograd The situation at the Front demands the most urgent and decisive measures Meanwhile the higher functionaries of the Government institutions banks railroads post and telegraph, are on strike and impeding the work of the Government in supplying the Front with provisions Each hour of delay may cost the life of thousands of soldiers The counter revolutionary functionaries are the most dishonest criminals toward their hungry and dying brethren on the Front

THE MILITARY REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE GIVES THESE CRIMINALS A LAST WARNING In event of the least resistance or opposition on their part, the harshness of the measures wh ch will be adopted against them will correspond to the seriousness of their crime

The masses of workers and soldiers responded by a savage tremor of rage which swept all Russia In the

Ко всѣмъ рабочимъ ПЕТРОГРАДА!

Товарищи! Революція побѣждаетъ—революція побѣдила. Вся власть перешла къ нашимъ Совѣтамъ. Первыя недѣли самыя трудныя. Надо раздавить до конца сломленную уже реакцію, надо обезпечить полное торжество нашихъ стремленій. Рабочій классъ долженъ обязанъ проявить въ эти дни

величайшую выдержку и выносливость,

чтобы облегчить Новому Народному Правительству Совѣтовъ выполненіе всѣхъ задачъ. На этихъ же дняхъ будутъ изданы новые законы по рабочему вопросу и въ томъ числѣ однимъ изъ самыхъ первыхъ законъ о рабочемъ контролѣ надъ производствомъ и объ регулированіи промышленности.

Забастовки и выступленія рабочихъ массъ въ Петроградѣ теперь только вредятъ.

Мы просимъ васъ немедле о прекратить всѣ экономическія и политическія забастовки, всѣмъ стать на р боту и роизводить ее въ полномъ поряд . Р бота в вах дн ъ всѣхъ предпр! і ъ об дима новому р вительству Совѣтовъ потому чт вс ое разстройство р ботъ созд етъ для насъ овыя затрудненія которыхъ и безъ того д ольно. Всѣ къ своему мѣсту

Лучш средство и ддержать и во пра ительство Совѣтовъ ъ эти дни испол свое дѣло.

Да здравствуетъ твердая выдержка пролетаріата! Да здравствуетъ революція!

Петроградскій Совѣтъ Р. и С. Д.
Петроград кій Совѣтъ Профессіональ льныхъ Союзовъ.
Центральный Совѣтъ Фабрично-Завод скихъ Комитетовъ.

Appeal of the Petrograd Soviet the Petrograd Council of Professional Unions and the Petrograd Council of Factory Shop Committees to the Workers of Petrograd urging them to work hard and not to strike For translation see Note 13 p 394

ment, *their* Soviets—and the functionaries of the Minis tries were against it

At the centre of all this opposition was the Duma and its militant organ the Committee for Salvation protesting against all the decrees of the Council of People s Commissars voting again and again not to recognise the Soviet Government, openly cooperating with the new counter revolutionary Governments set up at Moghilev

On the 17th of November for example the Com mittee for Salvation addressed all Municipal Govern ments Zemstvos and all democratic and revolutionary organisations of peasants workers soldiers and other citizens in these words

> Do not recognize the Government of the Bolsheviki and struggle against it
>
> Form local Committees for Salvation of Country and Rev olution who will unite all democratic forces so as to aid the All Russian Committee for Salvation in the tasks which it has set itself

Meanwhile the elections for the Constituent Assembly in Petrograd [5] gave an enormous plurality to the Bolshe viki so that even the Mensheviki Internationalists pointed out that the Duma ought to be re elected as it no longer represented the political composition of the Petrograd population At the same time floods of resolutions from workers organisations from military units even from the peasants in the surrounding country poured in upon the Duma calling it counter revolutionary Kornilo vets" and demanding that it resign The last days of the Duma were stormy with the bitter demands of the Munici pal workers for decent living wages and the threat of strikes

capital the Government and bank employees got out hundreds of proclamations and appeals [14] protesting de fending themselves such as this one

To the Attention of All Citizens
The State Bank Is Closed!
Why?

Because the violence exercised by the Bolsheviki against the State Bank has made it impossible for us to work The first act of the People s Commissars was to DEMAND TEN MIL LION RUBLES and on November 27th THEY DEMANDED TWENTY FIVE MILLIONS without any indication as to where this money was to go

We functionaries cannot take part in plundering the people s property We stopped work

CITIZENS! The money in the State Bank is yours the people s *money acquired by your labour your sweat and blood* CITIZENS! Save the people s property from robbery and us from violence and we shall immediately resume work

EMPLOYEES OF THE STATE BANK

From the Ministry of Supplies the Ministry of Finance from the Special Supply Committee declarations that the Military Revolutionary Committee made it impossible for the employees to work appeals to the population to support them against Smolny But the dominant worker and soldier did not believe them it was firmly fixed in the popular mind that the employees were sabotaging starving the Army starving the people In the long bread lines which as formerly stood in the iron winter streets it was not *the Government* which was blamed as it had been under Kerensky but the *chinovniki* the sabotageurs for the Government was *their* Govern

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The Duma met defiantly passing resolutions to the effect that it would defend its position to the last drop of its blood and appealing desperately to the population to save their own elected City Government But the population remained indifferent or hostile On the 31st Mayor Schreider and several members were arrested interro ated and released That day and the next the Duma continued to meet interrupted frequently by Red Guards and sailors who politely requested the assembly to disperse At the meeting of December 2d an officer and some sailors entered the Nicolai Hall while a member was speakin and ordered the members to leave or force would be used They did so protestin to the last but finally ceding to violence

The new Duma which was elected ten days later and for which the Moderate Socialists refused to vote was almost entirely Bolshevik

There remained several centres of d rgerous opposition uch as the republics of Ukraine and Finland which were showin definitely anti Soviet tendencies Both at Helsingfors and at Kiev the Governments were gatherin troops which could be depended upon and entering upon campai ns of crushing Bolshevism and of disarming and expelling Russian troops The Ukrainian Rada had taken command of all southern Russia and was furnishing Kaledin reinforcements and supplies Both Finland and Ukraine were beginning secret negotiations with the Germans and were promptly recognised by the Allied Governments which loaned them huge sums of money joinin with the propertied classes to create counter revolutionary centres of attack upon Soviet Russia In the end when Bolshevism had conquered in both these countri s the defeated bourgeoisie called in the Germans to restore them to power

On the 23d a formal decree of the Military Revolutionary Committee dissolved the Committee for Salvation On the 29th, the Council of People s Commissars ordered the dissolution and re election of the Petrograd City Duma

In view of the fact that the Central Duma of Petrograd elected September 2d has definitely lost the right to represent the population of Petrograd being in complete disaccord with its state of mind and its aspirations and in view of the fact that the personnel of the Duma majority although having lost all political following continues to make use of its prerogatives to resist in a counter revolutionary manner the will of the workers soldiers and peasants to sabotage and obstruct the normal work of the Government—the Council of People s Commissars considers it its duty to invite the population of the capital to pronounce judgment on the policy of the organ of Municipal autonomy

To this end the Council of People s Commissars resolves

(1) To dissolve the Municipal Duma the dissolution to take effect November 30th 1917

(2) All functionaries elected or appointed by the present Duma shall remain at their posts and fulfil the duties confided to them until their places shall be filled by representatives of the new Duma

(3) All Municipal employees shall continue to fulfil their duties those who leave the service of their own accord shall be considered discharged

(4) The new elections for the Municipal Duma of Petrograd are fixed for December 9th 1917

(5) The Municipal Duma of Petrograd shall meet December 11th 1917 at two o clock

(6) Those who disobey this decree as well as those who intentionally harm or destroy the property of the Municipality shall be immediately arrested and brought before the Revolutionary Tribunals

Отъ Комиссіи по Народному Образованію при Центральной Городской Думѣ

Товарищи рабочіе и работницы!

За нѣсколько дней до праздника была объявлена забастовка учащими городскихъ училищъ. Учащія оказались на сторонѣ буржуазіи противъ рабочаго и крестьянскаго Правительства.

Товарищи, организуйте родительскіе комитеты и вносите резолюціи противъ забастовки учащихъ. Обращайтесь въ районные Совѣты Рабочихъ и Солдатскихъ Депутатовъ, профессіональные союзы, фабрично заводскіе и партійные комитеты съ предложеніемъ устраивать митинги протеста. Устраивайте собственными силами елки и развлеченія для дѣтей, требуйте возобновленія занятій послѣ праздника въ срокъ который укажетъ Центральная Дума.

Товарищи, укрѣпляйте свои позиціи въ дѣлѣ народнаго образованія, настаивайте на контролѣ пролетарскихъ организацій надъ школой.

Комиссія по Народному Образованію
при Центральной Городской Думѣ.

Proclamation of the Commission on Publ c Education attached to the C ty Dum co cerning the strike of school teachers just before the Christmas holidays The Duma had been re elected and was composed almost entirely of Bol heviki For tran lat on see Note 17 p 402

But the most formidable menace to the Soviet Government was internal and two headed—the Kaledin movement and the Staff at Moghilev where General Dukhonin had assumed command

The ubiquitous Muraviov was appointed commander of the war against the Cossacks and a Red Army was recruited from among the factory workers Hundreds of propagandists were sent to the Don The Council of People s Commissars issued a proclamation to the Cossacks[14] explaining what the Soviet Government was how the propertied classes the *chinovniki* landlords bankers and their allies the Cossack princes land-owners and Generals were trying to destroy the Revolution and prevent the confiscation of their wealth by the people

On November 27th a committee of Cossacks came to Smolny to see Trotsky and Lenin They demanded if it were true that the Soviet Government did not intend to divide the Cossack lands among the peasants of Great Russia? No answered Trotsky The Cossacks deliberated for a while Well they asked does the Soviet Government intend to confiscate he estates of our great Cossack land-owners and divide them among the working Cossacks? To this Lenin replied That he said "is for *you* to do We shall support the working Cossacks in all their actions The best way to begin is to form Cossack Soviets you will be given representation in the *Tsay ee kah* and then it will be *your* Government too

The Cossacks departed thinking hard Two weeks later General Kaledin received a deputation from his troops Will you they asked promise to divide the great estates of the Cossack landlords among the working Cossacks?"

Only over my dead body responded Kaledin A month later seeing his army melt away before his eyes

openin of immediate peace negotiations a proposal which the authorised Government of the Russian Republic addresses at the same time to all the belligerent peoples and their Governments

Please accept Mr Ambassador the profound assurance of the esteem of the Soviet Government toward your people who cannot but wish for peace like all the other peoples exhausted and drained by this unexampled butchery

The same night the Council of People s Commissars telegraphed to General Dukhonin

The Council of People s Commissars considers it indispensable without delay to make a formal proposal of armistice to all the powers both enemy and Allied A declaration conforming to this decision has been sent by the Commissar for Foreign Affairs to the representatives of the Allied powers at Petrograd

The Council of People s Commissars orders you Citizen Commander to propose to the enemy military authorities immediately to cease hostilities and enter into negotiations for peace In charging you with the conduct of these preliminary pourparlers the Council of People s Commissars orders you

1 To inform the Council by direct wire immediately of any and all steps in the pourparlers with the representatives of the enemy armies

2 Not to sign the act of armistice until it has been passed upon by the Council of People s Commissars

The Allied Ambassadors received Trotsky s note with contemptuous silence accompanied by anonymous interviews in the newspapers full of spite and ridicule The order to Dukhonin was characterised openly as an act of treason

As for Dukhonin he gave no sign On the night of

Kaledin blew out his brains And the Cossack movement was no more

Meanwhile at Moghilev were gathered the old *Tsay-ee Kah* the moderate Socialist leaders—from Avksentiev to Chernov*—the active chiefs of the old Army Com mittees and the reactionary officers The Staff steadily re fused to recognise the Council of People s Commissars It had united about it the Death Battalions the Knights of St George *and the Cossacks of the Front and was in* close and secret touch with the Allied military attachés and with the Kaledin movement and the Ukrainian Rada

The Allied Governments had made no reply to the Peace decree of November 8th in which the Congress of Soviets had asked for a general armistice

On November 20th Trotsky addressed a note to the Allied Ambassadors [18]

I have the honour to inform you Mr Ambassador that the All Russian Congress of Soviets on November 8th constituted a new Government of the Russian Republic in the form of the Council of People s Commissars The President of this Government is Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin The direction of Foreign Affairs has been entrusted to me as *People s* Commissar for Foreign Affairs

In drawing your attention to the text approved by the All Russian Congress of the proposition for an armistice and a democratic peace without annexations or indemnities based on the right of self-determination of peoples I have the hon our to request you to consider that document as a formal proposal of an immediate armistice on all fronts and the

Cherno went to Mogh l v only to try to stop th fighting and to work for the con ocation of the Pe sant So iet Then he eturn d to Petrograd for the All Russian Peasa t So iet Congress and th Constituent Assembly of which he was elected chairman — "

companied by three detachments of fanatical sailors set out for the *Stavka* breathing threats of vengeance [9] and received by the soldiers everywhere with tremendous ovations—a triumphal progress The Central Army Committee issued a declaration in favour of Dukhonin and at once ten thousand troops moved upon Moghilev

On December 2d the garrison of Moghilev rose and seized the city arresting Dukhonin and the Army Committee and going out with victorious red banners to meet the new Supreme Commander Krylenko entered Moghilev next morning to find a howling mob gathered about the railway-car in which Dukhonin had been imprisoned Krylenko made a speech in which he implored the soldiers not to harm Dukhonin as he was to be taken to Petrograd and judged by the Revolutionary Tribunal When he had finished suddenly Dukhonin himself appeared at the window as if to address the throng But with a savage roar the people rushed the car and falling upon the old General dragged him out and beat him to death on the platform

So ended the revolt of the *Stavka*

Immensely strengthened by the collapse of the last important stronghold of hostile military power in Russia the Soviet Government began with confidence the organisation of the state Many of the old functionaries flocked to its banner and many members of other parties entered the Government service The financially ambitious however were checked by the decree on Salaries of Government Employees fixing the salaries of the People's Commissars —the highest—at five hundred rubles (about fifty dollars) a month The strike of Government Employees led by the Union of Unions collapsed deserted by the financial and commercial interests which had been backing it. The bank clerks returned to their jobs

November 22nd he was communicated with by telephone and asked if he intended to obey the order Dukhonin answered that he could not unless it emanated from a Government sustained by the Army and the country"

By telegraph he was immediately dismissed from the post of Supreme Commander and Krylenko appointed in his place Following his tactics of appealing to the masses Lenin sent a radiogram to all regimental divisional and corps Committees to all soldiers and sailors of the Army and the Fleet acquainting them with Dukhonin s refusal and ordering that the regiments on the front shall elect delegates to begin negotiations with the enemy detachments opposite their positions

On the 23d the military attachés of the Allied nations acting on instructions from their Governments presented a note to Dukhonin in which he was solemnly warned not to violate the conditions of the treaties concluded between the Powers of the Entente The note went on to say that if a separate armistice with Germany were concluded that act would result in the most serious consequences to Russia This communication Dukhonin at once sent out to all the soldiers Committees

Next morning Trotsky made another appeal to the troops characterising the note of the Allied representatives as a flagrant interference in the internal affairs of Russia and a bald attempt to force by threats the Russian Army and the Russian people to continue the war in execution of the treaties concluded by the Tsar

From Smolny poured out proclamation after proclamation [19] denouncing Dukhonin and the counter revolutionary officers about him denouncing the reactionary politicians gathered at Moghilev rousing from one end of the thousand mile Front to the other millions of angry suspicious soldiers And at the same time Krylenko ac

In this chapter then I have confined myself to the Soviet Government s attempts to consolidate its political power at home and sketched its successive conquests of hostile domestic elements —which process was temporarily interrupted by the disastrous Peace of Brest Litovsk.

2 Preamble—Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia

The October Revolution of the workers and peasants began under the common banner of Emancipation

The peasants are being emancipated from the power of the landowners for there is no longer the landowner s property right in the land—it has been abolished The sold ers and sailors are being emanc pated from the power of autocratic generals for generals will henceforth be elective and subject to recall Th work ingmen are being emancipated from the whims and arbitrary will of the capital sts for henceforth there will be established the con trol of the workers over mills and factories. Everythin livin and capable of life is being emancipated from the hateful shackles

There remain only the peoples of Russia who have suffered and are suffering oppression and arbitrariness and whose emanci pat on must immediately be begun whose liberation must be effected resolutely and definitely

During the period of Tsarism the peoples of Russia were systematically incited against one another The result of such a pol cy are known massacres and *pogroms* on the one hand slav ery of peoples on the other

There can be and there must be no return to this disgraceful pol cy Henceforth the policy of a voluntary and honest union of the peoples of Russ a must be substituted

In the period of imperial sm after the March revolution when the power was tran ferred into the hands of the Cadet bourgeoisie the naked pol cy of provocation gave way to one of cowardly d s-trust of the peoples of Russia to a pol cy of fault find ng, of mean n less freedom and equality of peoples The results of such a pol cy are known the growth of national enmity the im pa rment of mutu l confidence

An end m st be put to this unworthy policy of falsehood and distrust, of fault finding and provocation. Henceforth it must be repla ed by an o en and honest policy leading to the complete

With the decree on the Nationalisation of Banks the formation of the Supreme Council of People s Economy the putting into practical operation of the Land decree in the villages the democratic reorganisation of the Army and the sweeping changes in all branches of the Government and of life —with all these effective only by the will of the masses of workers soldiers and peasants slowly began with many mistakes and hitches the moulding of proletarian Russia

Not by compromise with the propertied classes or with the other political leaders not by conciliating the old Government mechanism did the Bolsheviki conquer the power Nor by the organized violence of a small clique If the masses all over Russia had not been ready for insurrection it must have failed The only reason for Bolshevik success lay in their accomplishing the vast and simple desires of the most profound strata of the people calling them to the work of tearing down and destroying the old and afterward in the smoke of falling ruins cooperating with them to erect the frame work of the new

NOTES TO CHAPTER XI

1 Limitations of This Chapter

This chapter extends over a period of two months more or less It covers the time of negotiations with the Allies the negotiations and armistice with the Germans and the beginning of the Peace negotiations at Brest Litovsk as well as the period in which were laid the foundations of the Soviet State

However it is no part of my purpose in this book to describe and interpret these very important historical events which require more space They are therefore reserved for another volume "Kornilov to Brest Litovsk "

4 All decorations orders and other marks of distinction are abolished

5 With the abolition of the rank of officer all separate officers organisations are aboli hed

Note—Orderl es are left only for headquarters chanceries Committees and other Army organisations

P esident of the Co cil of People s Commissars
VL ULIANOV (LENIN)

People s Commissar for Mil t ry and Naval Affairs
N KRYLENKO

People s Comm ssar fo Mil t ry Affa s
N PODVOISKY

Se retary of the Council
N GORBUNOV

* *

O the Electi e Pri iple and the Organisation of Autl o ity in the Army

1 The army serving the will of the to lin people is subject to ts supreme represent tive—the Council of People s Commissars

2 F ll author ty within the lim ts of mil tary units and com binations is vested in the respective Soldiers Committees and Sov ets.

3 Those phases of the life and activity of the troops which are already under the jurisd ction of the Committees are now formally placed in their direct control O er such branches of acti ity which the Comm ttees cannot assume the control of the Sold ers Sov ets is established.

4 The election of commanding Staff and officers is introduced All comm nders up to the comm nders of regiments inclusive are elected by general suffrage of squads platoons companies squad rons batteries, di isions (artillery 2 3 batteries) and regiments All commander h gher than the commander of a regiment and up to the Supreme Commander inclus ve are elected by con gresses o conferences of Committees

Note—By the term conference must be understood a meeting of the respect ve Committees together with delegates of commit tees o e degree lower n rank (Such as a conference of Regi mental Comm ttees w th d legates from Compa y Committee — A thor)

mutual confidence of the peoples of Russia Only as the result of such a trust can there be formed an honest and lasting union of the peoples of Russia Only as the result of such a union can the workers and peasants of the peoples of Russia be cemented into one revolutionary force able to resist all attempts on the part of the imperialist annexationist bourgeoisie

3 Decrees

On the Nationalisation of the Banks

In the interest of the regular organisation of the national economy of the thorough eradication of bank speculation and the complete emancipation of the workers peasants and the whole labouring population from the exploitation of banking capital and with a view to the establishment of a single national bank of the Russian Republic which shall serve the real interests of the people and the poorer classes the Central Executive Committee (*Tsay ee kah*) resolves

1 The banking business is declared a state monopoly

2 All existing private joint stock banks and banking offices are merged in the State Bank

3 The assets and liabilities of the liquidated establishments are taken over by the State Bank

4 The order of the merger of private banks in the State Bank is to be determined by a special decree

5 The temporary administration of the affairs of the private banks is entrusted to the board of the State Bank

6 The interests of the small depositors will be safeguarded

On the Equality of Rank of All Military Men

In realisation of the will of the revolutionary people regarding the prompt and decisive abolition of all remnants of former inequality in the Army the Council of People s Commissars decrees

1 All ranks and grades in the Army beginning with the rank of Corporal and ending with the rank of General are abolished The Army of the Russian Republic consists now of free and equal citizens bearing the honourable title of Soldiers of the Revolutionary Army

2 All privileges connected with the former ranks and grades also all outward marks of distinction are abolished

3 All addressing by titles is abolished

On the Abol tion of Classes and Titles

1 All classes and class divisions all class privileges and de limitations all class organisations and institutions and all civil ranks are abolished

2 All classes of society (nobles merchants petty bourgeois etc.) and a.l titles (Prince Count and others) and all denomina tions of civil rank (Privy State Councillor and o hers) are abol ished and there is established the general denomination of Ci izen of the Russ an Republic

3 The property and institutions of the classes of nobility are transferred to the corresponding autonomous Zemstvos

4 The property of merchant and bourgeois organisations is transferred immediately to the Municipal Self Governments

5 All class institutions of any sort with their property their rules of procedure and their archives are transferred to the ad ministration of the Municipal ties and Zemstvos.

6 All articles of existin, laws applying to these matters are herew th repealed

7 The present decree becomes effective on the day it is pub- lis ed and applied by the Sov ets of Workers Sold ers and Peas ants Depu es.

The present decree has been confirmed by the *Tsay-ee koh* at the meet ng of November 23d 1917 and signed by

President of the Tsay ee k h
SVERDLOV
Pr sid nt of the Council of People's Commissa s
VL ULIANOV (LENIN)
Ex ut e of the Council of People s Comm ssars
V BONCH BRUEVICH.
Secr tary of the Council
N GORBUNOV

* *

On December 3d the Council of People s Commissars resolved "to reduce the salar of functionaries and employees in all Gov ernment institutions and est blishments general or sp cial without exception

To begin with, the Council fixed the salary of a People s Com missar at 500 rubles per month with 100 rubles additional for each grown member of the family incapable of work

5 The elected commanders above the rank of commander of regiment must be confirmed by the nearest Supreme Committee

Note In the event of a refusal by a Supreme Committee to confirm an elected commander with a statement of reasons for such refusal a commander elected by the lower Committee a second time must be confirmed

6 The commanders of Armies are elected by Army congresses Commanders of Fronts are elected by congresses of the respective Fronts

7 To posts of a technical character demanding special knowledge or other practical preparation namely doctors engineers technicians telegraph and wireless operators aviators automobilists etc only such persons as possess the required special knowledge may be elected by the Committees of the units of the respective services

8 Chiefs of Staff must be chosen from among persons with special military training for that post

9 All other members of the Staff are appointed by the Chief of Staff and confirmed by the respective congresses

Note —All persons with special training must be listed in a special list

10 The right is reserved to retire from the service all commanders on active service who are not elected by the soldiers to any post and who consequently are ranked as privates

11 All other functions beside those pertaining to the command with the exception of posts in the economic departments are filled by appointment of the respective elected commanders.

12 Detailed instructions regarding the elections of the commanding Staff will be published separately

President of the Council of People s Commissars
VL. ULIANOV (LENIN)

People s Commissar for Military and Naval Affairs
N KRYLENKO

People s Commissar for Military Affairs
N PODVOISKY

Secretary of the Council
N GORBUNOV

• • • •

I've tried. The receiver s off the hook.

'Send him a telegram

'I did

Well with what result?

Marat Uritsky sighs and does not answer Robespierre Trotsky spits furiously into the corner

'L sten Marat recommences Trotsky after a moment. 'We must absolutely show that we re conducting an active foreign pol icy How can we do that?'

Launch another decree about arresting Neratov answers Uritsky with a profound air

Marat you re a blockhead cries Trotsky All of a sudden he arises terrible and majest c looking at this moment like Robespierre

'Write Uritsky! he says with severity 'Write a letter to the British ambassador a registered letter with receipt demanded Write I also will write! The peoples of the world await an im mediate peace

In the enormous and empty Ministry of Fore gn Affairs are to be heard only the sound of two typewriters With his own hands Trotsky is conducting an active forei n policy

6 On th Q estion of an Agreement

To the Attention of All Workers and All Soldiers

No ember 11th in the club of the Preobrazhensky Regiment was held an extraord nary meeting of representatives of all the u its of the Petrograd garrison

The meeting was called upon the initi t ve of the Preobrazhen sky and Semionovsky Regiments for the d scussion of the question as to which Socialist parties are for the power of the Soviets which are against, which are for the people which against, and if an agreement between them is poss ble

The representat ves of the *Tsay-ee kah* of the Mun cipal Duma of the Avksentie Peasants Soviets and of all the pol tical parties f om the Bol heviki to the Populist Socialists were invited to the meeting

After long del beration having heard the declarat ons of all parties and organ sat ons the meeting by a tremendous majority of vot s agreed that only the Bolsheviki a d the Left Socialist Revol t naries are for the people and that all the other parties

This was the highest salary paid to any Government official

4

Countess Panina was arrested and brought to trial before the first Supreme Revolutionary Tribunal The trial is described in the chapter on Revolutionary Justice" in my forthcoming volume "Kornilov to Brest Litovsk" The prisoner was sentenced to return the money and then be liberated to the public contempt In other words she was set free!

5 Ridicule of the New Regime

From *Drug Naroda* (Menshevik) November 18th

"The story of the immediate peace of the Bolsheviki reminds us of a joyous moving picture film Neratov runs—Trotsky pursues Neratov climbs a wall Trotsky too Neratov dives into the water—Trotsky follows Neratov climbs onto the roof—Trotsky right behind him Neratov hides under the bed—and Trotsky has him! He has him! Naturally peace is immediately signed

All is empty and silent at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The couriers are respectful but their faces wear a caustic expression

How about arresting an ambassador and signing an armistice or a Peace Treaty with him? But they are strange folk these ambassadors They keep silent just as if they had heard nothing Hola hola England France Germany! We have signed an armistice with you! Is it possible that you know nothing about it? Nevertheless it has been published in all the papers and posted on all the walls On a Bolshevik s word of honour Peace has been signed We re not asking much of you you just have to write two words

"The ambassadors remain silent The Powers remain silent All is empty and silent in the office of the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

" Listen says Robespierre Trotsky to his assistant Marat Uritsky 'run over to the British Ambassador s tell him we re proposing peace!'

" Go yourself says Marat Uritsky He s not receiving

" 'Telephone him then

for the F ght Against Drunkenness who besides mercilessly put ting down the wine riots destroved hundreds of thousands of bottles of liquor The Winter Palace cellars conta ning rare vinta es valued at more than five million dollars were at first flooded, and then the liquor was removed to Cronstadt and de stroyed

In this work the Cronstadt sailors flower and pride of the revolutionary forces as Trotsky called them acquitted them selves with iron self-discipline

8 Sp culators

Two orders concerning them

Council of People's Commissars
To the Mil t ry Revoluti n ry Committee

The disorganisation of the food supply created by the war and the lack of ystem is becoming to the last degree acute thanks to the speculators marauders and their followers on the railways in the steamship offices forward ng offices etc.

Taking advantage of the nation s greatest misfortunes these criminal spoli tors are playing with the health and life of millions of soldiers and workers for their own benefit

Such a situation cannot be borne a single day longer

The Council of People s Commissars proposes to the Military Revolutionary Comm ttee to take the most decisive measures towards the uprooting of speculation sabotage hiding of suppl es fraudulent detention of cargoes etc.

All perso s guilty of such actions shall be subject by special orders of the Military Revolutionary Committee to immediate arrest a d confinement in the prisons of Cronstadt, pending their arraignment before the Revolutionary Tribunal

All the popular organisations are invited to cooperate in the struggle against the spoli tors of food supplies

Pres d nt of th Co nc l of Peopl s Commiss s
V ULIANOV (LENIN)

Accepted for execution

M l tary Revolut onary Committe att ched to the C E C of the So ets of W & S Deputies

Petrograd No 23d 1917

are only attempting under cover of seeking an agreement to de prive the people of the conquests won in the days of the great Workers and Peasants Revolution of November

Here is the text of the resolution carried at this meeting of the Petrograd garrison by 61 votes against 11 and 12 not voting

"The garrison conference summoned at the initiative of the Semionovsky and Preobrazhensky Regiments on hearing the representatives of all the Socialist parties and popular organisa tions on the question of an agreement between the different polit ical parties finds that

"1 The representatives of the *Tsay ee kah* the representa tives of the Bolshevik party and the Left Socialist Revolutionaries declared definitely that they stand for a Government of the Soviets for the decrees on Land Peace and Workers Control of Industry and that upon this platform they are willing to agree with all the Socialist parties

"2 At the same time the representatives of the other parties (Mensheviki Socialist Revolutionaries) either gave no answer at all or declared simply that they were opposed to the power of the Soviets and against the decrees on Land Peace and Workers Control

"In view of this the meeting resolves

" 1 To express severe censure of all parties which under cover of an agreement wish practically to annul the popular conquests of the Revolution of November

" 2 To express full confidence in the *Tsay ee kah* and the Council of People s Commissars and to promise them complete support

"At the same time the meeting deems it necessary that the comrades Left Socialist Revolutionaries should enter the People s Government

7 Wine "Pogroms"

It was afterward discovered that there was a regular organisa tion maintained by the Cadets for provoking rioting among the soldiers There would be telephone messages to the different bar racks announcing that wine was being given away at such and such an address and when the soldiers arrived at the spot an individual would point out the location of the cellar

The Council of People s Commissars appointed a Commissar

for that we must establ sh some communication with you and before all clear up the following points

(1) Do you know that in your name all officers who could take part in the fight are being in ited to leave Petrograd on the pretext of joining you?

(2) About when can we count on your arrival at Petrograd? We should like to know in order to coordinate our actions

In spite of the criminal inaction of the conscious people here ch allowed the yoke of Bolshevism to be laid upon us—in spite of the extraordinary pig headedness of the majority of officers so difficult to organise—we believe in spite of all that Truth is on our s de and that we shall conquer the vicious and crim nal forces who say that they are acting for motives of love of country and in order to save it. Whatever comes we shall not permit ourselves to be struck down and shall remain firm until the end

Purishkevich being brought to trial before the Revolutionary Tr'bunal, was given a short prison term

10 Decree on the Monopoly of Advertisements

1 The pr nting of advertisements in newspapers books bill boards kiosks in offices and other establishments is declared to be a State monopoly

2 Advertisements may only be published in the organs of the Pro onal Workers and Peasants Government at Petrograd and n the organs of local Soviets

3 Th proprietors of newspapers and advertising offices as well as all employees of such establishments should remain at their posts until the tr n fer of the advertisement business to the Gov er ment s perintend ng the uninterrupted continuation of the r houses, and t rning o er to the Soviets all private advertising and the um received therefor as well as all accounts and copy

4 All man ge s of publications and businesses dealing with pa d ad erti ing as well as their employees and workers shall agree to hold a City Congre s nd to jo n first the City Trade Un on and then the All Russian Unions to organise more thor oughly and justly the ad ertisin business in the Soviet publica t ons, as well as to prepare b tter rules for the public utility of ad erti s ng

5 All persons found guilty of havin concealed documen s or

To All Honest Cit ens

The Military Revolutionary Committee Decrees

Spoliators marauders speculators are declared to be enemies of the People

The Military Revolutionary Committee proposes to all public organisations to all honest citizens to inform the Military Revolutionary Committee immediately of all cases of spoliation marauding speculation which become known to them

The struggle against this evil is the business of all honest people The Military Revolutionary Committee expects the support of all to whom the interests of the People are dear

The Military Revolutionary Committee will be merciless in pursuit of speculators and marauders

THE MILITARY REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE.

Petrograd Dec 2d 1917

9 Purishkevich s Letter to Kaledin

"The situation at Petrograd is desperate The city is cut off from the outside world and is entirely in the power of the Bolsheviki

People are arrested in the streets thrown into the Neva drowned and imprisoned without any charge Even Burtzev is shut up in Peter Paul fortress under strict guard

"The organisation at whose head I am is working without rest to unite all the officers and what is left of the *yunker* schools and to arm them The situation cannot be saved except by creating regiments of officers and *yunkers* Attacking with these regiments and having gained a first suc ess we could later gain the aid of the garrison troops but without that first success it is impossible to count on a single soldier because thousands of them are divided and terrorised by the scum which exists in every regiment Most of the Cossacks are tainted by Bolshevik propaganda thanks to the strange policy of General Dutov who allowed to pass the moment when by decisive action something could have been obtained. The policy of negotiations and concessions has borne its fruits all that is respectable is persecuted and it is the plebe and the criminals who dominate—and nothing can be done except by shooting and hanging them

We are awaiting you here General and at the moment of your arrival we shall advance with all the forces at our disposal But

sections and 4 will be immediately arrested and subjected to the most severe punishment.

Petrograd 6th of December 3 o clock in the night
Committee to Fight Against Po roms attached to the Executi e Committee of the Soviet of Wo kers' and Soldiers' Deputies

12 Two Proclamations

Lenin *To the People of Russia.*

Comrades workers soldiers, peasants—all to lers!

"The Workers and Peasants Revolut on has won at Petrograd at Moscow From the Front and the villages arrive every day every hour greetings to the new Government The victory of the Re olution i assured seeing that it is sus ta ned by the majority of the peopl

It is entirely understandable that the proprietors and the cap talists the employees and functionaries closely allied with the bourgeoisie—in a word all the rich and all thore who join hands w th them—regard the new Revolution with hostility oppose its succes threaten to halt the activity of the banks and sabota e or obstruct the work of other establishments Every con sc ous worker understands perfectly that we cannot avoid this host lity because the high officials have set themselves against the Peopl and do not wish to abandon their posts without resistance But the working-classes are not for one moment afraid of that resistance The majority of the peop e are for us. For us are the majo ity of the workers and the oppressed of the whole world We have justice on our side. Our ultimate victory is certain

"The res stance of the cap talists and high officials will be broken. No one will be deprived of his property without a spec al law on the national sat on of banks and financial syndicates. Th s law is in preparation Not a worker will lose a sin le kopek on the contr ry he will be assisted Without at this moment estab lish ng the new taxes the new Government considers one of i s primary d t es to make a severe accounting and control on the reception of taxes dec eed by the former ré me

Comra les workers! Remember that you yourselves direct the Government No o e will help you unless you organise yourselves nd take into your own hands the affairs of the S.at Your So iets re now the org ns of governm ntal power Strengthen them establish a severe revolutionary control pitilessly crush the

money or having sabotáged the regulations indicated in paragraphs 3 and 4 will be punished by a sentence of not more than three years imprisonment and all their property will be confiscated

6 The paid insertion of advertisements in private publications or under a masqued form will also be severely penalised

7 Advertising offices are confiscated by the Government the owners being entitled to compensation in cases of necessity Small proprietors depositors and stock holders of the confiscated establishments will be reimbursed for all moneys held by them in the concern

8 All buildings officers counters and in general every establishment doing a business in advertising should immediately inform the Soviet of Workers and Soldiers Deputies of its address and proceed to the transfer of its business under penalty of the punishment indicated in paragraph 5

President of the Council of People s Commissars
VL ULIANOV (LENIN)
People s Commissar for Public Instruction
A V LUNACHARSKY
Secretary of the Council
N GORBUNOV

II Obligatory Ordinance

1 The city of Petrograd is declared to be in a state of si ge.

2 All assemblies meetings and congregations on the streets and squares are prohibited

3 Attempts to loot wine-cellars warehouses factories stores business premises private dwellings etc etc. *will be stopped by machine gun fire without warning*

4 House Committees doormen janitors and Militiamen are charged with the duty of keeping strict order in all houses courtyards and in the streets and house-doors and carriage entrances must be locked at 9 o clock in the evening and opened at 7 o clock in the morning After 9 o clock in the evening only tenants may leave the house under strict control of the House Committees

5 Those guilty of the distribution sale or purchase of any kind of al oholic liquor and also those guilty of the violation of

"LONG LIVE THE IRON FIRMNESS OF THE PROLETARIAT! LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTION!"

Petrograd Soviet of W & S D
Petrograd Council of Trade Unions
Petrograd Council of Factory Shop Committees

14 Appeals and Counter Appeals

From the Employees of the State and private Banks
To the Population of Petrog ad

Comrades workers soldiers and citizens!

The M litary Revolutionary Committee in an extraordinary notice is accusing the workers of the State and private banking and other nstitutions of imped ng the work of the Governm nt directed towards the ensurin, of the Front w th provisions

Comrades and citizens do not bel eve this calumny brought a ainst us who are part of the general army of labour

However d fficult it be for us to work under the constant threat of interfe ence by acts of violence in our hard working l fe how ever depres ng t be to know that our Country and the Revolu tion are on the erge of ruin we nevertheless all of us from the h hest to the lowest employees artelshchiki counters la boure s co riers etc are continuing to fulfil our duties which are connected with the ensuring of provisions and munitions to the Front and country

Cou t ng upon your lack of information, comrades workers and soldiers in questions of finance and banking yo are be ng incited against workers like yourselves because it is desirable to divert the respon b l ty for the starving and dying brother-soldiers at the F ont from the guilty persons to the innocent workers wl o are accomplishin their duty under the burden of general poverty nd disorganisat on

REMEMBER WORKERS AND SOLDIERS THE EMPLOYEES HAVE AL WAYS STOOD UP FOR AND WILL ALW YS STAND UP FOR THE INTER ESTS OF THE TOILING PEOPLE PART OF WHICH THEY ARE THEM SELVES AND NOT A SINGLE KOPEK NECE ARY FOR THE FRONT ND THE WORKERS HAS EVER BEEN DETAINED AND WILL NOT BE DETAINED BY THE E PLOYEES

F om November 6th to November 3d i e durin, 17 d y 500 million rubles were d spatched to the Front and 120 mill ons to Moscow besides the sums sent to other towns

Keep ng guard over the wealth of the people the ma ter of

attempts at anarchy on the part of drunkards brigands counter revolutionary *yunkers* and Kornilovists

Establish a strict control over production and the accounting for products Arrest and turn over to the Revolutionary Tribunal of the People every one who injures the property of the People by sabotage in production by concealment of grain reserves reserves of other products by retarding the shipments of grain by bringing confusion into the railroads the posts and the telegraphs or in general opposing the great work of bringing Peace and transferring the Land to the peasants

Comrades workers soldiers peasants—all toilers!

Take immediately all local power into your hands Little by little with the consent of the majority of peasants we shall march firmly and unhesitatingly toward the victory of Socialism which will fortify the advance guards of the working-class of the most civilised countries and give to the peoples an enduring peace and free them from every slavery and every exploitation"

13

To All Workers of Petrograd!

Comrades! The Revolution is winning—the revolution has won All the power has passed over to our Soviets The first weeks are the most difficult ones The broken reaction must be finally crushed a full triumph must be secured to our endeavours The working-class ought to—must—show in these days THE GREATEST FIRMNESS AND ENDURANCE in order to facilitate the execution of all the aims of the new People s Government of Soviets In the next few days decrees on the Labour question will be issued and among the very first will be the decree on Workers Control over the production and regulation of Industry

"STRIKES AND DEMONSTRATIONS OF THE WORKER MASSES IN PETROGRAD NOW CAN ONLY DO HARM

We ask you to cease immediately all economic and political strikes to take up your work and do it in perfect order The work in the factories and all the industries is necessary for the new Government of Soviets because any interruption of this work will only create new difficulties for us and we have enough as it is All to your places

"The best way to support the new Government of Soviets in these days—is by doing your job

In the contrary case the Army and the people will stand before the horrors of famine but the responsibility therefor belongs to the perpetrators of violence

Execut ve Comm ttee of the Employees of the Ministry of Suppl es

•

To the Chinovniki (*Government Officials*)

It is notified hereby that all officials and persons who have quitted the service in Government and public institutions or have been dismissed for sabotage or for having failed to report for work on the day fixed and who have nevertheless received their salary paid in advance for the time they have not served are bound to return such salary not later than on November 27th 1917 to those institutions where they were in service

In the e ent of this not being done these persons will be ren dered answerable for stealing the Treasury s property and tried by the Military Revolutionary Court.

The Mil tary Revolut onary Committee

December 7th 1917

•

From the Spec al Boa d for the Suppl es

CITIZENS

"The conditions of our work for the supplying of Petrograd are getting more and more difficult every day

"The interf rence with our work—which is so ruinous to our business—of the Commissars of the Military Revolutionary Com mittee is still continuing

"THEIR ARBITRARY ACTS their annulling of our *orders*, MAY LEAD TO A CATASTROPHE

Seal have been affixed to one of the cold storages where the meat and butt r destined for the population are kept, and we cannot regulate the temperature SO THAT THE PRODUCTS WOULD NOT BE SPOILT

One carlo d of potatoes and one carload of cabbages have been se zed and carried away no one knows where to

Cargoes which are not liable to requi tion (*khal a*) are requi s tioned by the Commissars a d as was the case one day five boxes of *khalv* were seized by the Commissar for his own use

which can be only the Constituent Assembly representing the whole nation the employees refuse to give out money for pur poses which are unknown to them

DO NOT BELIEVE THE CALUMNIATORS CALLING YOU TO TAKE THE LAW INTO YOUR OWN HANDS!

Central Board of the All Russian Union of Employees of the State Bank

Central Board of the All Russian Trade Union of Employees of Credit Institutions

* * * *

To the Population of Petrograd

CITIZENS Do not believe the falsehood which irresponsible people are trying to suggest to you by spreading terrible calumnies against the employees of the Ministry of Supplies and the workers in other Supply organisations who are labouring in these dark days for the salvation of Russia Citizens! In posted placards you are called upon to lynch us we are accused falsely of sabotage and strikes we are blamed for all the woes and misfortunes that the people are suffering although we have been striving inde fatigably and uninterruptedly and are still striving to save the Russian people from the horrors of starvation Notwithstanding all that we are bearing as citizens of unhappy Russia we have not for one hour abandoned our heavy and responsible work of sup plying the Army and population with provisions

The image of the Army cold and hungry saving our very existence by its blood and its tortures does not leave us for a single moment

Citizens! If we have survived the blackest days in the life and history of our people if we have succeeded in preventing famine in Petrograd if we have managed to procure to the suffering army bread and forage by means of enormous almost superhuman efforts it is because we have honestly continued and are still con tinuing to do our work

"To the last warning of the usurpers of the power we reply It is not for you who are leading the country to ruin to threaten us who are doing all we can not to allow the country to perish We are not afraid of threats before us stands the sacred image of tortured Russia We will continue our work of supplying the Army and the people with bread to our last efforts so long as you will not prevent us from accomplishing our duty to our country

16 From the Council of People s Commissars to the Toil ng Cossacks

Brothers-Cossacks

You are being deceived You are being incited against the People You are told that the Soviets of Workers Soldiers and Peasants Deputies are your enemies that they want to take away your Cossack land your Cossack l berty Don t believe it Cos sacks Your own Generals and landowners are deceiving you n order to keep you in darkness and slavery We the Council of People s Comm ssars address ourselves to you Cossacks with these words Read them attentively and judge yourselves which the truth and wh ch is cruel deceit. The life and service of a Cossack were always bonda e and penal servitude At the first call of the authorities a Cossack always had to saddle his horse and ride out on campaign. All his military equipment a Cossack had to provide with his own hardly earned means A Cossack is on service h s farm is going to rack and ruin. Is such a cond tion fair? No it must be altered for ever THE COSSACKS MUST BE FREED FRO I BONDAGE The new People s Soviet power is *willing to come to the* assistance of the to ling Cossacks It is only necessary that the Cossacks themselves should resol e to abolish the old order that they should refuse submission to their slave-driver officers land-own rs rich men that they should throw *off the cur ed* yoke from their necks Arise Cossacks! Unite The Council of People s Commissars calls upon you to enter a new fresh more happy l fe

In No embe and December in Petrograd there were All Russian Congresses of Soviets of Sold ers Wo kers and Peas ants D puties These Congresses transferred all the authority in the d fferent localities into the hands of the Soviets *i e into* the hands of men el cted by th People From now on there must be n Ru s a no rulers or f nctionaries who command the People from above and dri e them The People create the authority them elves A Gener l has no more rights than a sold er All are equal Consider Cossacks is th s wro g or right? We are call ng upon yo Cossacks to jo n th s *new* order and to create your own Sov et of Cossacks Deput e To such So iets all the power must belong in the diffe ent localities Not to *h tmans* with the rank *of* G n ral but *to the* elected representatives of the to l ng Cossacks to your own trustworthy rel able men.

"WE ARE NOT IN A POSITION TO DISPOSE OF OUR STORAGES where the self appointed Commissars do not allow the cargoes to be taken out and terrorise our employees threatening them with arrest

ALL THAT IS GOING ON IN PETROGRAD IS KNOWN IN THE PROVINCES AND FROM THE DON FROM SIBERIA FROM VORONEZH AND OTHER PLACES PEOPLE ARE REFUSING TO SEND FLOUR AND BREAD

THIS CANNOT GO ON MUCH LONGER

The work is simply falling out of our hands

OUR DUTY *is to let the population know of this*

"To the last possibility we will remain on guard of the interests of the population

WE WILL DO EVERYTHING TO AVOID THE ONCOMING FAMINE BUT IF UNDER THESE DIFFICULT CONDITIONS OUR WORK IS COMPELLED TO STOP LET THE PEOPLE KNOW THAT IT IS NOT OUR FAULT

• • • •

15 Elections to the Constituent Assembly in Petrograd

There were nineteen tickets in Petrograd The results are as follows published November 30th

Party	*Vote*
Populist Socialists	19 109
Cadets	245 006
Christian Democrats	3 707
Bolsheviki	4 40
Socialist Universalists	158
S D and S R Ukrainian and Jewish Workers	4 219
League of Women s Rights	5 310
Socialist Revolutionaries (oborontsi)	4 696
Left Socialist Revolutionaries	15 30
League of the People s Development	385
Radical Democrats	413
Orthodox Parishes	24 139
Feminine League for Salvation of Country	318
Independent League of Workers Soldiers Peasants	4 94
Christian Democrats (Catholic)	14 38
Unified Social Democrats	11 740
Mensheviki	17 4
Yedinstvo group	18 3
League of Cossack Troops	6 712

which the Council of People's Commissars is proposing to all Governments to all peoples allies and enemies And the results are visible ON THE RUSSIAN FRONT AN ARMISTICE HAS BEEN CONCLUDED

"The soldiers and the Cossack's blood is not flowing there any more Now Cossacks decide do you wish to continue this ruinous senseless criminal slaughter? Then support the Cadets, the enemies of the people support Chernov Tseretelli S obelev who drove you into the offensive of July 1st support Kornilov who introduced capital punishment for soldiers and Cossacks at the front BUT IF YOU WISH A PROMPT AND HONEST PEACE THEN ENTER THE RANKS OF THE SOVIETS AND SUPPORT THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS

Your fate Cossacks lies in your own hands Our common foes the landowners, capitalists officers Kornilovists bourgeois newspapers are deceivin you and driving you along the road to ru n In Orenbu g Dutov has arrested the Soviet and disarmed the garrison Kaledin is threatening the Soviets in the province of the Don He has declared the province to be in a state of war and is assembl ng his t oops Karaulov is shoot ng the local tribes in the Caucasus The Cadet bourgeois e is supplying them with its mil ons Their common aim i to suppress the People's Soviets to cru h the workers and peasants to ntrod ce a ain the disci pl ne f the whip in the army and to eternalise the bondage of the to ling Cos acks

C re olut onary troops are mo in to the Don and the Ural n o de to put an end to th s crim nal revolt against the people The commanders of the r volutionary troops have rece ved orders not to enter into any negotiations with the mutinous Generals to act d cisively and mercilessly

Cossacks On you depends now whether your brothers blood is to flow still We are holding out our hand to you Jo n the whole people a ainst its enemies. Decla e Kaledin Kornilov Dutov Karaul and all thei aiders and abettors to be the en mies of the people traitors and betrayers Arrest them with your own for es and turn them over into the hands of the Sov et authority wh ch will judge them in open and publ c Revolutionary Tribunal Cossa ks Form Soviets of Cossacks Deput es Take into your to l worn hands the man gement of all the affa rs of the Cossacks Take away the lands of your own wealthy landowners Take over their grain their inventoried property and live stock

The All Russian Congresses of Soldiers Workers and Peasants Deputies have passed a resolution to transfer all landowners land into the possession of the toiling people Is not that fair Cossacks? The Kornilovs Kaledins Dutovs Karaulovs, Bardizhes all defend with their whole souls the interests of the rich men and they are ready to drown Russia in blood if only the lands remain in the hands of the landowners But you the toiling Cossacks do not you suffer yourselves from poverty oppression and lack of land? How many Cossacks are there who have more than 4 5 *dessiatins* per head? But the landowners who have thousands of *dessiatins* of their own land wish besides to get into their hands the lands of the Cossack Army According to the new Soviet laws the lands of Cossack landowners must pass without compensation into the hands of the Cossack workers the poorer Cossacks You are being told that the Soviets wish to take away your lands from you Who is frightening you? The rich Cossacks who know that the Soviet AUTHORITY WISHES TO transfer the landowners *lands to you Choose then Cossacks for whom will you* stand for the Kornilovs and Kaledins for the Generals and rich men or for the Soviets of Peasants Soldiers Workers and Cossacks Deputies

THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE S COMMISSARS elected by the All Russian Congress HAS PROPOSED TO ALL NATIONS AN IMMEDIATE ARMISTICE AND AN HONOURABLE DEMOCRATIC PEACE WITHOUT LOSS OR DETRIMENT TO ANY NATION All the capitalists landowners Generals Kornilovists have risen against the peaceful policy of the Soviets The war was bringing them profits power distinctions. And to you Cossack privates? You were perishing without reason, without purpose like your brothers soldiers and sailors It will soon be three years and a half that this accursed war has gone on, a war devised by the capitalists and landowners of all countries for their own profit their world robberies To the toiling Cossacks the war has only brought ruin and death The war has drained all the resources from Cossack farm life The only salvation for the whole of our country and for the Cossacks in particular is a prompt and honest peace The Council of People s Commissars has declared to all Governments and peoples We do not want other people s property and we do not wish to give away our own Peace without annexations and without indemnities Every nation must decide its own fate There must be no oppressing of one nation by another Such is the honest democratic People s peace

wh ch the Council of People s Commissars is proposing to all Governments to all peoples allies and enemies And the results are v sible ON THE RUSSIAN FRONT AN ARMISTICE HAS BEEN CONCLUDED

"The soldier s and the Cossack s blood is not flowing there any more Now Cossacks decide do you wish to continue this ruinous senseless criminal slaughter? Then support the Cadets the enemies of the people support Chernov Tseretelli Skobelev who drove you into the offensive of July 1st support Kornilov ho introduced cap tal punishment for soldiers and Cossacks at the front BUT IF YOU WISH A PROMPT AND HONEST PEACE THEN ENTER THE RANKS OF THE SOVIETS AND SUPPORT THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE S COMMISSARS

"Yo r fate Cossacks lies in your own hands Our common foes the landowners, capitalists, officers Kornilovists bourgeois newspapers are deceiving you and driving you along the road to ru n In Orenburg Dutov has arrested the So iet and disarmed the garrison Kaledin is threatening the Soviets in the province of the Don He has declared the province to be in a state of war and is assembling his troops Karaulov is shoo ing the local tribes in the Caucasus. The Cadet bourgeo sie is supplyin them with its millions Th ir common a m is to suppress the People s Soviets to cru h the workers and peasants to introduce again the disci pl n of the wh p in the army and to et rnalise the bondage of th to l ng Co sacks

Ou revolutionary troops are mo n to the Don and the Ural in o der to p it an end to this crim nal revolt against the people The c mmanders of the revolutionary troops have received orders not to enter into any negc ti tions with the mutinous *Gen rals* to act decis v ly and mercilessly

"Cos acks O you depends now whether your brothers blood is to flow s ill We are hold ng out our hand to you Join the hole people against its enemies. Declare Kaledin Kornilov D to Kar ulov and all their aiders and abettors to be the enemies of the people traitors and betr yers Arrest them with your own fo ces and turn them over into the hands of the Soviet authority which w l j d e them in open and public Revolution ry Tribunal Cos acks! Form Soviets of Cossacks D puties Take i to your to l worn h nds the management of all the affairs of the Cossa ks Take aw y the lands of your own wealthy landowners Take over their grain their inventoried property and live stock

for the cultivation of the lands of the toiling Cossacks who are ruined by the war

Forward Cossacks to the fight for the common cause of the people!

"Long live the toiling Cossacks!

Long live the union of the Cossacks the soldiers peasants and workers!

Long live the power of the Soviets of Cossacks Soldiers Workers and Peasants Deputies

Down with the war! Down with the landowners and the Kornilovist Generals!

Long live Peace and the Brotherhood of peoples!"

Council of People s Commissars

17 From the Commission on Public Education attached to the Central City Duma

Comrades Workingmen and Workingwomen!

A few days before the holidays a strike has been declared by the teachers of the public schools The teachers side with the bourgeoisie against the Workers and Peasants Government

Comrades organise parents committees and pass resolutions against the strike of the teachers Propose to the Ward Soviets of Workers and Soldiers Deputies the Trade Unions the Factory Shop and Party Committees to organise protest meetings Arrange with your own resources Christmas trees and entertainments for the children and demand the opening of the schools *after the* holidays at the date which will be set by the Duma.

Comrades strengthen your position in matters of public education insist on the control of the proletarian organisations over the schools "

Commission on Public Education attached to the Central City Duma

18 Diplomatic Correspondence of the Soviet Government

The notes issued by Trotsky to the Allies and to the neutral pow rs as well as the note of the Allied military Attachés to General Dukhonin are too voluminous to give here Moreover they belong to another phase of the history of the Soviet Republic with which this book has nothing to do—the foreign relations of

the Soviet Government. This I treat at length in the next volume Kornilov to Brest Litovsk.

19 Appeals to the Front Against Dokhonin

The struggle for peace has met with the resistance of the bourgeo s e and the counter revolutionary Cenerals From the acounts in the newspapers at the *Sta ka* of former Supreme Commander Dukhonin are gathering the agents and allies of the bou geoisie Verkhovski A k entiev Chernov Gotz, Tseretelli etc. It seems even that they want to form a new power against the Sov ets

"Comrades sold ers! All the persons we have mentioned have been Ministers already They have acted in accord with Kerensky and the bourgeo s e They are respon ble for the offensi e of July 1st and for the prolongat on of the war They promised the land to the peasants and then arrested the Land Committees They ree tablished c p tal punishment for soldiers They obey the orders of French English and American financiers

General Dukhonin for ha ing refused to obey orders of the Counc l of People s Commissars has been dism ssed from his po s t on a Supreme Commander For answer he is circulating amc g the troops the note from the Military Attaches of the Al lied mperialist Powers and attempting to provoke a counter revolut on.

Do not obey Dukhonin! Pay no attention to his provocation! Watch him and his group of counter revolutionary Generals care f lly

20 From Kryl nko

O de N mb T o

The ex Sup eme Commander General Dukhonin for hav ing opposed res tance to the execut on of orders for criminal actio scept ble of pro oking a new civ l war is decl r d enemy of the People All perso s who support Dukhon n w ll be arrested witho t resp ct to the r soci l or pol t c l pos tion or th r past. Pe sons equ pp d with special authority will operate th se arrest I charge Gene al Manikhovsky w th the execution of the above mentioned disposit ons

CHAPTER XII

THE PEASANTS' CONGRESS

It was on November 18th that the snow came In the morning we woke to window ledges heaped white and snowflakes falling so whirling thick that it was impossible to see ten feet ahead The mud was gone in a twinkling the gloomy city became white dazzling The *droshki* with their padded coachmen turned into sleighs bounding along the uneven street at headlong speed their drivers beards stiff and frozen In spite of Revolution all Russia plunging dizzily into the unknown and terrible future, joy swept the city with the coming of the snow Everybody was smiling people ran into the streets holding out their arms to the soft falling flakes laughing Hidden was all the greyness only the gold and coloured spires and cupolas with heightened barbaric splendour gleamed through the white snow

Even the sun came out pale and watery at noon The colds and rheumatism of the rainy months vanished The life of the city grew gay and the very Revolution ran swifter

I sat one evening in a *traktir*—a kind of lower class inn —across the street from the gates of Smolny a low ceilinged loud place called Uncle Tom s Cabin " much frequented by Red Guards They crowded it now packed close around the little tables with their dirty table-cloths

and enormous china tea pots filling the place with foul cigarette smoke while the harassed waiters ran about cry ing, *Seichass! Seichass!* In a minute! Right away!

In one corner sat a man in the uniform of a captain, addressing the assembly which interrupted him at every few words

You are no better than murderers!" he cried "Shoot ing down your Russian brothers on the streets!

When did we do that? asked a worker

Last Sunday you did it when the *yunkers*——

Well didn t they shoot us? One man exhibited his arm in a sling Haven t I got something to remember them by the devils?

The captain shouted at the top of his voice You should remain neutral! You should remain neutral! Who are you to destroy the legal Government? Who is Lenin? A Ger man——

Who are you? A counter revolutionist! A provocator! they bellowed at him

When he could make himself heard the captain stood up All right! said he You call yourselves the people of Russia But you re *not* the people of Russia The *peasants* are the people of Russia Wait until the peasants ——

Yes they cried wait until the peasants speak We know what the peasants will say Aren t they work ingmen like ourselves?

In the long run everything depended upon the peasants While the peasants had been politically backward still they had their own peculiar ideas and they constituted more than eighty per cent of the peopl of Russia The Bolsheviki had a comparatively small following among the peasants and a permanent dictatorship of Russia by the industrial workers was impossible The tradi

tional peasant party was the Socialist Revolutionary party of all the parties now supporting the Soviet Government the Left Socialist Revolutionaries were the logical inheritors of peasant leadership—and the Left Socialist Revolutionaries who were at the mercy of the organised city proletariat desperately needed the backing of the peasants

Meanwhile Smolny had not neglected the peasants After the Land decree one of the first actions of the new *Tsay ee kah* had been to call a Congress of Peasants over the head of the Executive Committee of the Peasants Soviets A few days later was issued detailed Regulations for the *Volost* (Township) Land Committees followed by Lenin s Instruction to Peasants [1] which explained the Bolshevik revolution and the new Government in simple terms and on November 16th Lenin and Miliutin published the Instructions to Provincial Emissaries * of whom thousands were sent by the Soviet Government into the villages

1 Upon his arrival in the province to which he is accredited the emissary should call a joint meeting of the Central Executive Committees of the Soviets of Workers Soldiers and Peasants Deputies to whom he should make a report on the agrarian laws and then demand that a joint plenary session of the Soviets be summoned

2 He must study the aspects of the agrarian problem in the province

a Has the land-owners property been taken over and if so in what districts?

b Who administers the confiscated land—the former proprietor or the Land Committees?

c What has been done with the agricultural machinery and with the farm animals?

* This questionnaire bears the earmarks of Lenin s style but has not been included in his *Collected Works* —Ed

3 Has the ground cultivated by the peasants been aug mented?

4 How much and in what respect does the amount of land now under cultivation differ from the amount fixed by the Government as an average minimum?

5 The emissary must insist that after the peasants have received the land it is imperative that they increase the amount of cultivated land as quickly as possible and that they hasten the sending of grain to the cities as the only means of avoid ing famine

6 What are the measures *projected or* put into effect for the transfer of land from the land-owners to the Land Com mittees and similar bodies appointed by the Soviets?

7 It is desirable that agricultural properties well appointed and well organised should be administered by Soviets com posed of the regular employees of those properties under the direction of competent agricultural scientists

All through the villages a ferment of change was going on caused not only by the electrifying action of the Land decree but also by thousands of revolutionary minded peasant soldiers returning from the front These men especially welcomed the call to a Congress of Peas ants

Like the old *Tsay-ee kah* in the matter of the second Congress of Workers and Soldiers Soviets the Executive Committee tried to prevent the Peasant Congress sum moned by Smolny And like the old *Tsay ee kah* finding its resistance futile the Executive Committee sent frantic tele rams orderin the election of Conservative delegates Word was even spread among the peasants that the Con gress would meet at Moghilev and some delegates went there but by November 23d about four hundred had gathered in Petrograd and the party caucuses had be gun

The first session took place in the Alexander Hall of

the Duma building and the first vote showed that more than half of all the delegates were Left Socialist Revolutionaries, while the Bolsheviki controlled a bare fifth the conservative Socialist Revolutionaries a quarter and all the rest were united only in their opposition to the old Executive Committee, dominated by Avksentiev Chaikovsky and Peshekhonov

The great hall was jammed with people and shaken with continual clamour deep stubborn bitterness divided the delegates into angry groups To the right was a sprinkling of officers epaulettes and the patriarchal bearded faces of the older more substantial peasants in the centre were a few peasants non-commissioned officers and some soldiers and on the left almost all the delegates wore the uniforms of common soldiers These last were the young generation who had been serving in the army The galleries were thronged with workers—who in Russia *still remember their peasant origin*

Unlike the old *Tsay ee kah* the Executive Committee in opening the session did not recognise the Congress as official the official Congress was called for December 13th amid a hurricane of applause and angry cries the speaker declared that this gathering was merely Extraordinary Conference But the Extraordinary Conference" soon showed its attitude toward the Executive Committee by electing as presiding officer Maria Spiridonova leader of the Left Socialist Revolutionaries

Most of the first day was taken up by a violent debate as to whether the representatives of *Volost* Soviets should be seated or only delegates from the Provincial bodies and just as in the Workers and Soldiers Congress an overwhelming *majority declared in favour of the widest* possible representation Whereupon the old Executive Committee left the hall

Almost immediately it was evident that most of the dele gates were hostile to the Government of the People s Commissars Zinoviev attempting to speak for the Bolsheviki was hooted down and as he left the platform amid laughter there were cries 'There s how a People s Commissar sits in a mud puddle!

We Left Socialist Revolutionaries refuse cried Nazariev a delegate from the Provinces to recognise this so-called Workers and Peasants Government until the peasants are represented in it At present it is nothing but a dictatorship of the workers We insist upon the formation of a new Government which will represent the entire democracy!

The reactionary delegates shrewdly fostered this feeling declaring in the face of protests from the Bolshevik benches that the Council of People s Commissars intended either to control the Congress or dissolve it by force of arms—an announcement which was received by the peas ants with bursts of fury

On the third day Lenin suddenly mounted the tribune for ten minutes the room went mad "Down with him!" they shrieked We will not listen to any of your People s Commissars! We don t recognise your Government!

Lenin stood there quite calmly gripping the desk with both hands his little eyes thoughtfully surveying the tumult beneath Finally except for the right side of the hall the demonstration wore itself out somewhat

I do not come here as a member of the Council of People s Commissars said Lenin and waited again for the noise to subside but as a member of the Bolshevik faction duly elected to this Congress And he held his credentials up so that all might see them

However " he went on in an unmoved voice nobody will deny that the present Government of Russia has been

formed by the Bolshevik party— he had to wait a moment so that for all purposes it is the same thing "
Here the right benches broke into deafening clamour but the centre and left were curious and compelled silence

Lenin s argument was simple Tell me frankly you peasants to whom we have given the lands of the *pomieshchiki* do you want now to prevent the workers from getting control of industry? This is class war The *pomieshchiki* of course oppose the peasants and the manufacturers oppose the workers Are you going to allow the ranks of the proletariat to be divided? Which side will you be on?

We the Bolsheviki, are the party of the proletariat—of the peasant proletariat as well as the industrial proletariat We the Bolsheviki are the protectors of the Soviets—of the Peasants Soviets as well as those of the Workers and Soldiers The present Government is a Government of Soviets we have not only invited the Peasants Soviets to join that Government but we have also invited representatives of the Left Socialist Revolutionaries to enter the Council of People s Commissars

The Soviets are the most perfect representatives of the people—of the workers in the factories and mines of the workers in the fields Anybody who attempts to destroy the Soviets is guilty of an anti democratic and counter revolutionary act And I serve notice here on you comrades *Right* Socialist Revolutionaries—and on you Messrs Cadets—that if the Constituent Assembly attempts to destroy the Soviets we shall not permit the Constituent Assembly to *do this thing!*

On the afternoon of November 25th Chernov arrived in hot haste from Moghilev summoned by the Executive Committee Only two months before considered an ex

treme revolutionist and very popular with the peasants he was now called to check the dangerous drift of the Con gress toward the Left Upon his arrival Chernov was ar rested and taken to Smolny where after a short conversa tion he was released

His first act was to bitterly rebuke the Executive Com mittee for leaving the Congress They agreed to return and Chernov entered the hall welcomed with great applause by the majority and the hoots and jeers of the Bolsheviki

Comrades! I have been away I participated in the Con ference of the Twelfth Army on the question of calling a Congress of all the Peasant delegates of the armies of the Western Front, and I know very little about the in surrection which occurred here——

Zinoviev rose in his seat and shouted Yes you were away—for a few minutes! Fearful tumult. Cries Down with the Bolsheviki!

Chernov continued The accusation that I helped lead an army on Petrograd has no foundation and is entirely false Where does such an accusation come from? Show me the source!

Zinoviev *Izvestia* and *Dielo Naroda*—your own paper —that s where it comes from!

Chernov s wide face with the small eyes waving hair and greyish beard became red with wrath but he con trolled himself and went on I repeat I know practically nothing about what has happened here and I did not lead any army except this army (he pointed to the peasant dele ates) which I am largely responsible for bringing here! Laughter and shouts of Bravo!

Upon my return I visited Smolny No such accusation was made against me there After a brief conversa tion I left—and that s all! Let any one present make such an accusation!

An uproar followed, in which the Bolsheviki and some of the Left Socialist Revolutionaries were on their feet all at once shaking their fists and yelling and the rest of the assembly tried to yell them down

This is an outrage not a session! cried Chernov and he left the hall the meeting was adjourned because of the noise and disorder

Meanwhile the question of the status of the Executive Committee was agitating all minds By declaring the assembly Extraordinary Conference it had been planned to block the reelection of the Executive Committee But this worked both ways the Left Socialist Revolutionists decided that if the Congress had no power over the Executive Committee then the Executive Committee had no power over the Congress On November 25th the assembly resolved that the powers of the Executive Committee be assumed by the Extraordinary Conference in which only members of the Executive who had had been elected as delegates might vote

The next day in spite of the bitter opposition of the Bolsheviki the resolution was amended to give all the members of the Executive Committee whether elected as delegates or not voice and vote in the assembly

On the 27th occurred the debate on the Land question which revealed the differences between the agrarian programme of the Bolsheviki and the Left Socialist Revolutionaries

Kolchinsky for the Left Socialist Revolutionaries outlined the history of the Land question during the Revolution The first Congress of Peasants Soviets he said had voted a precise and formal resolution in favour of putting the landed estates immediately into the hands of the Land Committees But the directors of the Revolution and the

bourgeois in the Government had insisted that the ques tion could not be solved until the Constituent Assembly met. The second period of the Revolution the period of compromise was signalled by the entrance of Chernov into the Cabinet The peasants were convinced that now the practical solution of the Land question would begin but in spite of the imperative decision of the first Peasant Congress the reactionaries and conciliators in the Executive Committee had prevented any action This policy provoked a series of agrarian disorders which appeared *as the natural expression of impatience and* thwarted energy on the part of the peasants The peasants understood the exact meaning of the Revolution—they tried to turn words into action

"The recent events said the orator do not indicate a simple riot or a Bolshevik adventure but on the con trary a real popular rising which has been greeted with sympathy by the whole country

The Bolsheviki in general took the correct attitude toward the Land question but in recommending that the peasants seize the land by force they committed a profound error From the first days the Bolsheviki de clared that the peasants should take over the land by revolutionary mass action This is nothing but anarchy the land can be taken over in an organized manner For the Bolsheviki it was important that the problems of the Revolution should be solved in the quickest possible manner—but the Bolsheviki were not interested in *how* these problems were to be solved

The Land decree of the Congress of Soviets is identical in its fundamentals with the decisions of the first Peasants Congress Why then did not the new Government follow the tactics outlined by that Congress? Because the Council of People s Commissars wanted to hasten the settlement of

the Land question so that the Constituent Assembly would have nothing to do

But also the Government saw that it was necessary to adopt practical measures so without further reflection it adopted the Regulations for Land Committees thus creating a strange situation for the Council of People s Commissars abolished private property in land but the Regulations drawn up by the Land Committees are based on private property However no harm has been done by that for the Land Committees are paying no attention to the Soviet decrees but are putting into operation their own practical decisions—decisions based on the will of the vast majority of the peasants

These Land Committees are not attempting the legislative solution of the Land question which belongs to the Constituent Assembly alone But will the Constituent Assembly desire to do the will of the Russian peasants? Of that we cannot be sure All we can be sure of is that the revolutionary determination of the peasants is now aroused and that the Constituent will be *forced* to settle the Land question the way the peasants want it settled The Constituent Assembly will not dare to break with the will of the people

Followed him Lenin listened to now with absorbing intensity At this moment we are not only trying to solve the Land question but the question of Social Revolution—not only here in Russia but all over the world The Land question cannot be solved independently of the other problems of the Social Revolution For example the confiscation of the landed estates will provoke the resistance not only of Russian land-owners but also of foreign capital—with whom the great landed properties are connected through the intermediary of the banks

The ownership of the land in Russia is the basis for

immense oppression and the confiscation of the land by the peasants is the most important step of our Revolution But it cannot be separated from the other steps as is clearly manifested by the stages through which the Revolution has had to pass The first stage was the crushing of autocracy and the crushing of the power of the industrial capitalists and land-owners whose interests are closely related The second stage was the strengthening of the Soviets and the political compromise with the bourgeoisie The mistake of the Left Socialist Revolutionaries lies in the fact that at that time they did not oppose the policy of compromise because they held the theory that the consciousness of the masses was not yet fully developed

If Socialism can only be realised when the intellectual development of all the people permits it then we shall not see Socialism for at least five hundred years The Socialist political party—this is the vanguard of the working class it must not allow itself to be halted by the lack of education of the mass average but it must lead the masses using the Soviets as organs of revolutionary initiative But in order to lead the wavering the comrades Left Socialist Revolutionaries themselves must stop hesitating

In July last a series of open breaks began between the popular masses and the compromisers but now in November the Left Socialist Revolutionaries are still holding out their hand to Avksentiev who is pulling the people with his little finger If Compromise continues the Revolution disappears No compromise with the bourgeoisie is possible its powe must be absolutely crushed

We Bolsheviki have not changed our Land programme we have not given up the abolition of private property in the land and we do not intend to do so We adopted the

Regulations for Land Committees—which are *not* based on private property at all—because we want to accomplish the popular will in the way the people have themselves decided to do it, so as to draw closer the coalition of all the elements who are fighting for the Social Revolution.

We invite the Left Socialist Revolutionaries to enter that coalition, insisting, however, that they cease looking backward, and that they break with the conciliators of their party.

As far as the Constituent Assembly is concerned, it is true, as the preceding speaker has said, that the work of the Constituent will depend on the revolutionary determination of the masses. I say, Count on that revolutionary determination, but don't forget your gun! *

Lenin then read the Bolshevik resolution:

The Peasants' Congress, fully supporting the Land decree of November 8th, ... approves of the Provisional Workers' and Peasants' Government of the Russian Republic established by the second All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. ...

The Peasants' Congress ... invites all peasants unanimously to sustain that law, and to apply it immediately themselves; and at the same time invites the peasants to appoint to posts and positions of responsibility only persons who have proved, not by words but by acts, their entire devotion to the interests of the exploited peasant workers, their desire and their ability to defend these interests against all resistance on the part of the great land-owners, the capitalists, their partisans and accomplices. ...

The Peasants' Congress at the same time expresses its conviction that the complete realisation of *all the measures* which make up the Land decree can only be successful through

* Reed's report on Lenin's speech is fuller than that included in Lenin's Works and concentrates on passages in part missing there. The resolution Lenin read was drafted by him and appears in full in Vol. XXVI, pp. 290–91.—*Ed.*

the triumph of the Workers Social Revolution which began November 7th, 1917 for only the Social Revolution can accomplish the definite transfer without possibility of return, of the land to the peasant workers the confiscation of model farms and their surrender to the peasant communes the confiscation of agricultural machinery belonging to the great land-owners the safe guarding of the interests of the agricultural workers by the complete abolition of wage slavery the regular and methodical distribution among all regions of Russia of the products of agriculture and industry and the seizure of the banks (without which the possession of land by the whole people would be impossible after the aboli tion of private property) and all sorts of assistance by the State to the workers

For these reasons the Peasants Congress sustains entirely the Revolution of November 7th as a social revolution and expresses its unalterable will to put into operation with whatever modifications are necessary but without any hesita tion the social transformation of the Russian Republic

The indispensable conditions of the victory of the Social Revolution which alone will secure the lasting success and the complete realisation of the Land decree is the close union of the peasant workers with the industrial working-class with the proletariat of all advanced countries From now on in the Russian Republic all the organisation and admiration of the State from top to bottom, must rest on that union That union, crushing all attempts direct or indirect, open or dis simulated to return to the policy of conciliation with the bourgeoisie—conciliation damned by experience with the chiefs of bourgeois politics—can alone insure the victory of Socialism throughout the world

The reactionaries of the Executive Committee no longer dared openly to appear Chernov however spoke several times with a modest and winning impartiality He was invited to sit on the platform On the second night of the Congress an anonymous note was handed up to the

chairman requesting that Chernov be made honorary President Ustinov read the note aloud and immediately Zinoviev was on his feet screaming that this was a trick of the old Executive Committee to capture the convention in a moment the hall was one bellowing mass of waving arms and angry faces on both sides Nevertheless Chernov remained very popular

In the stormy debates on the Land question and the Lenin resolution the Bolsheviki were twice on the point of quitting the assembly both times restrained by their leaders It seemed to me as if the Congress were hopelessly deadlocked

But none of us knew that a series of secret conferences were already going on between the Left Socialist Revolutionaries and the Bolsheviki at Smolny At first the Left Socialist Revolutionaries had demanded that there be a Government composed of all the Socialist parties in and out of the Soviets to be responsible to a People s Council composed of an equal number of delegates from the Workers and Soldiers organisation and that of the Peasants and completed by representatives of the City Dumas and the Zemstvos Lenin and Trotsky were to be eliminated and the Military Revolutionary Committee and other repressive organs dissolved

Wednesday morning November 28th after a terrible all night struggle an agreement was reached The *Tsay ee kah* composed of 108 members was to be augmented by 108 members elected proportionally from the Peasants Congress by 100 delegates elected directly from the Army and the Fleet and by 50 representatives of the Trade Unions (35 from the general Unions 10 Railway Workers and 5 from the Post and Telegraph Workers) The Dumas and Zemstvos were dropped Lenin and Trosky remained

in the Government and the Military Revolutionary Committee continued to function

The sessions of the Congress had now been removed to the Imperial Law School building Fontanka 6 headquarters of the Peasants Soviets There in the great meeting hall the delegates gathered on Wednesday afternoon The old Executive Committee had withdrawn and was holding a rump convention of its own in another room of the same building made up of bolting delegates and representatives of the Army Committees

Chernov went from one meeting to the other keeping a watchful eye on the proceedings He knew that an agreement with the Bolsheviki was being discussed but he did not know that it had been concluded

He spoke to the rump convention At present when everybody is in favour of forming an all Socialist Government, many people forget the first Ministry which was *not* a coalition Government and in which there was only one Socialist—Kerensky a Government which in its time was very popular Now people accuse Kerensky they forget that he was raised to power not only by the Soviets but also by the popular masses

Why did public opinion change toward Kerensky? The savages set up gods to which they pray and which they punish if one of their prayers is not answered That is what is happening at this *moment* Yesterday Kerensky today Lenin and Trotsky another to morrow

We have proposed to both Kerensky and the Bolsheviki to retire from the power Kerensky has accepted—to-day he announced from his hiding place that he has resigned as Premier but the Bolsheviki wish to retain the power and they do not know how to use it

If the Bolsheviki succeed or if they fail the fate of Russia will not be changed The Russian villages understand perfectly what they want, and they are now carrying out their own measures The villages will save us in the end

In the meanwhile in the great hall Ustinov had announced the agreement between the Peasants Congress and Smolny received by the delegates with the wildest joy Suddenly Chernov appeared and demanded the floor

I understand he began that an agreement is being concluded between the Peasants Congress and Smolny Such an agreement would be illegal seeing that the true Congress of Peasants Soviets does not meet until next week

Moreover I want to warn you now that the Bolsheviki will never accept your demands

He was interrupted by a great burst of laughter and realising the situation he left the platform and the room taking his popularity with him

Late in the afternoon of Thursday November 16th the Congress met in an extraordinary session There was a holiday feeling in the air on every face was a smile The remainder of the business before the assembly was hurried through and then old Nathanson the white bearded dean of the left wing of the Socialist Revolutionaries his voice trembling and tears in his eyes read the report of the wedding of the Peasants Soviets with the Workers and Soldiers Soviets At every mention of the word union there was ecstatic applause At the end Ustinov announced *the arrival of a delegation* from Smolny accompanied by representatives of the Red Army greeted with a rising ovation One after another a

workman a soldier and a sailor took the floor hailing them

Then Boris Reinstein delegate of the American Socialist Labor Party * "The day of the union of the Congress of Peasants and the Soviets of Workers and Soldiers Deputies is one of the great days of the Revolution The sound of it will ring with resounding echoes throughout the whole world—in Paris in London and across the ocean—in New York This union will fill with happiness the hearts of all toilers

A great idea has triumphed The West and America expected from Russia from the Russian proletariat something tremendous The proletariat of the world is waiting for the Russian Revolution waiting for the great things that it is accomplishing

Sverdlov president of the *Tsay-ee-kah* greeted them And with the shout Long live the end of civil war! Long live the United Democracy! the peasants poured out of the building

It was already dark and on the ice-covered snow glittered the pale light of moon and star Along the bank of the canal were drawn up in full marching order the soldiers of the Pavlovsky Regiment with their band which broke into the *Marseillaise* Amid the crashing full throated shouts of the soldiers the peasants formed in line unfurling the great red banner of the Executive Committee of the All Russian Peasants Soviets embroidered newly in gold Long live the union of the revolutionary and toiling masses! Following were other banners of the District Soviets—of Putilov Factory which read We bow to this flag in order to create the brotherhood of all peoples!

* The Socialist Labor Party had not given him mandate to represent it, and later specifically repudiated him.—*Ed*

From somewhere torches appeared blazing orange in the night a thousand times reflected in the facets of the ice streaming out smokily over the throng as it moved down the bank of the Fontanka singing between crowds that stood in astonished silence

Long live the Revolutionary Army! Long live the Red Guard! Long live the Peasants!

So the great procession wound through the city growing and unfurling ever new red banners lettered in gold Two old peasants bowed with toil were walking hand in hand their faces illumined with child like bliss

Well said one I d like to see them take away our land again *now!*

Near Smolny the Red Guard was lined up on both sides of the street wild with delight The other old peasant spoke to his comrade I am not tired he said I walked on air all the way!

On the steps of Smolny about a hundred Workers and Soldiers Deputies were massed with their banner dark against the blaze of light streaming out between the arches Like a wave they rushed down clasping the peasants in their arms and kissing them and the procession poured in through the great door and up the stairs with a noise like thunder

In the immense white meeting room the *Tsay-ee kah* was waiting with the whole Petrograd Soviet and a thou sand spectators beside with that solemnity which attends great conscious moments in history

Zinoviev announced the agreement with the Peasants Congress to a shaking roar which rose and burst into storm as the sound of music blared down the corridor and the head of the procession came in On the platform the presidium rose and made place for the Peasants presidium the two embracing behind them the two banners were

intertwined against the white wall over the empty frame from which the Tsar s picture had been torn

Then opened the triumphal session After a few words of welcome from Sverdlov Maria Spiridonova slight pale with spectacles and hair drawn flatly down and the air of a New England school teacher took the tribune—the most loved and the most powerful woman in all Russia

Before the workers of Russia open now horizons which history has never known All workers movements in the past have been defeated But the present movement is international and that is why it is invincible There is no force in the world which can put out the fire of the Revolution! The old world crumbles down the new world begins

Then Trotsky full of fire I wish you welcome comrades peasants! You come here not as guests but as masters of this house which holds the heart of the Russian Revolution The will of millions of workers is now concentrated in this hall There is now only one master of the Russian land the union of the workers soldiers and peasants

With biting sarcasm he went on to speak of the Allied diplomats till then contemptuous of Russia s invitation to an armistice which had been accepted by the Central Powers

A new humanity will be born of this war In this hall we swear to workers of all lands to remain at our revolutionary post If we are broken, then it will be in defending our flag

Krylenko followed him explaining the situation at the front, where Dukhonin was preparing to resist the Council of People s Commissars Let Dukhonin and those with him understand well that we shall not deal gently with those who bar the road to peace!

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The joint session of the *Tsay ee kah* and the Peasants Congress expresses its firm conviction that the union of workers soldiers and peasants this fraternal union of all the workers and all the exploited will consolidate the power conquered by them that it will take all revolutionary measures to hasten the passing of the power into the hands of the working-class in other countries and that it will assure in this manner the lasting accomplishment of a just peace and the victory of Socialism [2]

NOTES TO CHAPTER XII

1 **Instruction to Peasants**

In answer to the numerous enquiries coming from peasants it is hereby explained that the whole power in the country is from now on held by the Soviets of the Workers Soldiers and Peasants Deputies The Workers Revolution after having conquered in Petrograd and in Moscow is now conquering in all other centres of Russia. The Workers and Peasants Government safeguards the interests of the masses of peasantry the poorest of them it is with the majority of peasants and workers against the land owners and against the capitalists

Hence the Soviets of Peasants Deputies and before all the District Soviets, and subsequently those of the Provinces are from now on and until the Constituent Assembly meets full powered bodies of State authority in their localities All landlords titles to the land are cancelled by the second All Russian Congress of Soviets A decree regarding the land has already been issued by the present Provisional Workers and Peasants Government On the basis of the above decree all lands hitherto belonging to landlords now pass entirely and wholly into the hands of the Soviets of Peasants Deputies The *Volost* (a group of several villages forms a *Volost*) Land Committees are immediately to take over all land from the landlords and to keep a strict account

Signed by Lenin, thi docum wa lso dr fted by him nd now incl ded in his *C ll ct d W k* —*Ed*

Dybenko saluted the assembly in the name of the Fleet and Krushinsky member of the *Vikzhel* said 'From this moment when the union of all true Socialists is realised the whole army of railway workers places itself absolutely at the disposition of the revolutionary democracy' And Lunacharsky almost weeping and Proshian for the Left Socialist Revolutionaries and finally Saharashvili for the United Social Democrats Internationalists composed of members of the Martov s and of Gorky s groups who declared

We left the *Tsay ee kah* because of the uncompromising policy of the Bolsheviki and to force them to make concessions in order to realise the union of all the revolutionary democracy Now that that union is brought about we consider it a sacred duty to take our places once more *in the Tsay ee kah* *We declare that all those who* have withdrawn from the *Tsay ee kah* should now return

Stachkov a dignified old peasant of the presidium of the Peasants Congress bowed to the four corners of the room *I greet you with the christening of a new Russian* life and freedom!

Gronsky in the name of the Polish Social Democracy Skrypnik for the Factory Shop Committees Tifonov for the Russian soldiers at Salonika and others interminably speaking out of full hearts with the happy eloquence of hopes fulfilled

It was late in the night when the following resolution was put and passed unanimously

The *Tsay ee kah* united in extraordinary session with the Petrograd Soviet and the Peasants Congress confirms the Land and Peace decrees adopted by the second Congress of Soviets of Workers and Soldiers Deputies and also the decree on Workers Control adopted by the *Tsay ee kah*

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over it watching that order be maintained and that the whole estate be well guarded seeing that from now on all private estates become public property and must therefore be protected by the people themselves

All orders given by the *Volost* Land Committees adopted with the assent of the District Soviets of Peasants Deputies in fulfilment of the decrees issued by the revolutionary power are absolutely legal and are to be forthwith and irrefutably brought into execution

The Workers and Peasants Government appointed by the second All Russian Congress of Soviets has received the name of the Council of People s Commissars

The Council of People s Commissars summons the Peasants to take the whole power into their hands in every locality

The workers will in every way absolutely and entirely support the peasants arrange for them all that is required in connection with machines and tools and in return they request the peasants to help with the transport of grain

President of the Council of People s Commissars
V ULIANOV (LENIN)

Petrograd November 18th 1917

2

The full powered Congress of Peasants Soviets met about a week later and continued for several weeks Its history is merely an expanded version of the history of the Extraordinary Conference At first the great majority of the delegates were hostile to the Soviet Government and supported the reactionary wing Several days later the assembly was supporting the moderates with Chernov And several days after that the vast majority of the Congress were voting for the faction of Maria Spiridonova and sending their representatives into the *Tsay ee kah* at Smolny

The Right Wing then walked out of the Congress and called a Congress of its own which went on dwindling from day to day until it finally dissolved

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G86 PASTERNAK BORIS Doctor Zhivago
G5 PLUTARCH L es (The Dryden Translation)
G40 POE EDGAR ALLAN Complete Tales and Poems
G29 PRESCOTT WILLIAM H The Conquest of Mexico and The Conquest of Peru
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G65 RABELAIS Co plete Works
G12 SCOTT S R WALTER Th Mo t Popular Novels (Quen n Durward I anhoe & Kenilworth)
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G 3 TOLSTOY LEO Anna Ka e ia—tr revised
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ISCELLANEOUS

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G1 Tw l Famous Play f th Re tor tion and E ght enth Century (1660–18) Dryden Congrev Wyche ley Gay tc
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G79 The Wisdom of Israel

John Reed was born in Portland,)regon in 1887 and graduated from Har ard in 1920 The articles he wrote from Jexico about the revolution of Pancho /illa established his reputation as a ournalist and radical He served as a eporter during the First World War and vas in Petrograd (now Leningrad) when he Bolsheviks seized power in 1917 *Ten Days That Shook the World* is his eye-witness account of the revolution Reed returned to America to take an active part in the founding of the American Communist movement in 1919 He went back to attend a world Communist Congress as an American delegate there he caught typhus and died at the age of 33 He was buried in the Kremlin wall.